

A JUNIOR
HISTORY OF ROME
TO THE DEATH OF CAESAR

BY
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WITH A PREFACE BY
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PREFACE

THIS book is much to be welcomed by all teachers whose pupils are beginning to tackle Latin literature in earnest. Some sort of historical framework, in which to fit the authors themselves and the characters which crowd their pages, is indispensable if the teacher is not to be seriously hampered at the outset in his herculean task of securing genuine interest in the textbook. Our first duty to the pupil in this, as in every form of historical and geographical work, is, beyond question, to establish in his mind a true sense of proportion, chronological and otherwise, as a setting for his maturer study. To neglect or to postpone this duty is to put difficulties in his path which may hamper him for years to come, and which it may be beyond our power to repair, for the simple reason that we may never become aware of their existence. On the other hand, to introduce the textbook to its victim as a sort of grammatical grindstone on which he is supposed to sharpen his wits, without giving him a chance of appreciating the circumstances and the genius to which it owes its existence, or the national characteristics which are probably to be found stamped on every page of it, is to wrong the author even more grievously than the reader.

For those of us who would wish to give a fairer chance to author, teacher, and pupil alike, two

difficulties stand in the way: the first is to find a book which is not too childish and not too advanced for our purposes; the second is to find time to read it.

We have put this particular book to the practical test of reading it aloud and without comment to a twelve-year-old boy of average intelligence; the fact that he was invariably ready for 'one chapter more' makes it reasonable to suppose that from the pupil's point of view, at all events, it meets the requirements of the case. The teacher will find the arrangement of the book, its style, and, last but not least, its maps, admirably adapted for school use.

There remains the difficulty of including Roman History as yet another subject in an already overcrowded time-table. But there is always room for a good elementary English reading-book, and, as such we may warmly recommend this review of what is by far the most inspiring period of Roman history. It is presented in the shape of a series of character studies, national and individual, and is brimful of suggestiveness from beginning to end; the style is simple but trenchant, and there is not a dull page in the book.

L. H. HELBERT.

WEST DOWNS,
WINCHESTER.

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PART I

THE GROWTH OF ROME

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNING OF ROME

THE history of Rome is really the history of the Italian people, for Rome was the centre and the ruler of Italy, not only the most important town in it. In the beginning this people possessed only a very small corner of the broad plains round the Tiber where they first made their home, but even when their power had stretched all over Italy from north to south, and across the sea to Sicily, Spain, Asia, and Africa, across the Alps to Gaul and Britain, even then, Rome was all-important; it was in Rome that everything was done and decided. Italy and all the Roman Empire were part of Rome, so that the history of Rome is the history of all the lands over which Rome came to rule. It is the story of the way in which one small city and one handful of people gradually became rulers of all the known world.

It was natural that the Romans should be much interested in their own early history. They wanted to know the beginnings of their race. They knew that there must have been a time when Rome was no more than a single little town, ruling over the land that lay just round it; they guessed that earlier still it had been only a village—but before that they knew nothing. They wanted to go back to the very earliest time of all when there began to be men in the land, and tell how it came to pass that Rome had grown out of nothing to be so

great. But, as a matter of fact, it was not until Rome had begun to be a fairly important town that any stories about her were written that have come down to us; and by that time people had already forgotten what had happened in the beginning. When they came to write they found they only knew the tales that had been told by mothers to their children from age to age. To join all these tales and make them all fit together they had to do a good deal of guessing.

One thing is fairly certain. The Romans who were the first to write down these stories did not belong to the people who had been there in the beginning.

Earliest
peoples.

In the beginning, moreover, there was not one people in Italy, any more than there was one people in England. There had been several peoples, and some of them came from very far away. The Romans themselves believed that the Italian peoples whom they knew—the Latins and the Etruscans, the Umbrians, Sabines, and Samnites—had lived in Italy from the beginning of time; but it cannot have been so. Italy, like every other part of Europe, was invaded in those early times, when men were only discovering the metals hidden in the earth, by wanderers from other lands who made their homes there. We do not know much about these earliest dwellers in Italy. They were more or less savage. There are very few monuments in stone or weapons left to tell us anything about their way of life. But we know that they were once there because they have left some of their words in the Latin language—words which the Romans called Oscan. These words tell us that they were a peasant folk. They grew vines and tilled the fields, and the words they have left behind them are words that have to do with work in the fields and hunting in the woods. How long they may have lived in peace none can say.

But about the time when they were making weapons for themselves out of bronze, there came to the country where they had lived undisturbed, hordes of strange men from unknown Northern and Eastern lands. It was the time of the great wanderings, when the people of the Indo-German race were driven from their far-away homes in Northern India and Persia. In the course of years they made their way from Asia into Europe, travelling along the southern shores of the Caspian and the Black Seas. Some of them settled in Greece, some in Asia Minor, some in Armenia, some in Turkey, Austria and Germany, France and England, and some crossed the Alps and swarmed down into Italy. Italy is divided almost into two halves by the Apennine Mountains that form a sort of backbone. On either side of the mountains the invaders divided. To the western plains, along the shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea, there came those who afterwards called themselves the Latin peoples; while the Umbro-Sabellians turned eastward along the coast of the Adriatic. First they settled along the seashores; then, as their numbers grew, they pressed their way up among the mountains, and finally they crossed the hills. They saw the fair and pleasant plains, on the farther side of them, where the Latins were dwelling, and so they pressed the Latins in their turn down to the coast. And some of the Latins, finding little room on the mainland, crossed the sea in rude boats, and settled in the island near, which they called Sicily. Up among the mountains of the north, and in the rich valleys watered by the river Po, there remained another tribe that did not mix with the Latins and the Umbro-Sabellians, though they had all belonged to the same great family; these were the Gauls. In appearance they were very unlike their cousins; for while the Latins and the Umbro-Sabellians

Indo-Germans.

were small men, with dark hair and quick, keen-glancing eyes, rapid and lively in their movements and their speech, the Gauls were mostly fair-haired and blue-eyed, tall heavy men, slow and sleepy in their manner of life, though terrible when stirred to anger.

Etruscans. After the Indo-Germanic peoples had made their homes in Italy and among the Alps, another people came to settle there, a strange people about whom we know very little, and whom the Romans never quite understood. They belonged to a different race from all the others, a race that settled also in Spain and in the southern corner of France. Their home was perhaps among the Caucasus Mountains. They came and drove the Celts out from the Po valley and settled along the coasts round Genoa; then they pressed on into Italy and made their homes in what was later called after them Etruria. These Etruscans, as the Romans named them, were a very powerful people. They were civilized at an earlier date than the Latins were, and ruled over much of Northern Italy. In their language and their ways they were unlike all the other dwellers in Italy.

Greeks. After the Etruscans came the Greeks. They came as traders, and their settlements were mostly round the southern coasts. These towns grew fast and were soon very rich and powerful; but their power did not spread much over Italy, because all the towns were jealous of one another and for ever quarrelling together. The most northerly Greek town was Neapolis (Naples) in Campania.

For many hundred years the history of Italy is the history of the peoples dwelling in the central parts. The North—known as Gaul—and the South, where the Greek settlements were, remained for all that time quite separate and apart from the rest of the country, while the history of the rest is all bound up together. The most interesting

part of it is the story of Latium. Latium was the broad plain where the Latins had first settled. It was protected from the rest of Italy by the spur of the Apennines, behind which were the Umbrians, who were for ever trying to drive the Latins as far towards the sea as they could. The Etruscans shut them in on the north.

Over the plain of Latium the settlers were at first scattered in small farms. At the head of each farm was the father of the family, and in his family the father was a king. His wife was mistress of the home, but outside of its four walls she had no word to say. Sons and daughters and wife, too, had to do just what the father bid them. When the children grew up and the time came for them to marry, the sons brought their wives to live under the family roof; the daughters went to live with the family of their husband's father. In this way little groups grew, each of them ruled by the father. As the families grew larger, and the new generations came up, new farms were built near to the old homesteads; and so villages came into existence. For when the father died the eldest son was head of the household in his place, and then the married brothers preferred to go and dwell in a home of their own in which they in their turn were master of the household. The life of the villagers was simple enough. They were peasants and herdsmen, looking after their sheep and cattle and tilling the soil. They grew vines and corn, and spent laborious days in outdoor work. In the evening they came together and listened to the stories that the older men could tell them. Together they paid their duties to the gods whom they all believed to be watching over them and their harvests and their flocks. They imagined that the gods too lived much as they did. Jupiter, or Jove, was the head of the heavenly family, and he ruled in heaven as

the father ruled on earth, Juno was his wife, the goddess who watched over mothers; Mars and Venus were their children, obedient to Jove, and each of them giving to men their own especial gift. Mars gave them strength and courage, Venus beauty and new life. Diana was with them when they went hunting, and Mercury if they had to travel far from one village to another.

Aeneas.

The earliest town, so the Roman stories tell, was founded by the glorious hero Aeneas, who came to Rome after many wanderings, after he had escaped with his father, wife and youthful son, and some few trusty companions, from the burning city of Troy. In a dream there had appeared to Aeneas, just before he fled, the hero Hector, who had already been killed and dragged round the walls of Troy behind the chariot of Achilles. Hector commanded Aeneas to flee from the burning city, and to wander by sea and land till he came to the country which had been named by the Fates to be the home of him and his descendants. Aeneas obeyed, and at last, after having tried in vain to settle in Macedonia and in Sicily, landed not far from the mouth of the Tiber. There some god held back the rapid current of the river so that he could pass up it. But he found people already dwelling in the land. They gathered together under their leader Latinus to drive away the invading band. In the fight Aeneas was victorious, for the gods were on his side, and when Latinus knew who he was, and that he had been sent thither by the command of the gods, he made peace at once and gave Aeneas his daughter Lavinia for his wife. Now Lavinia had already been promised to Turnus the king of a neighbouring people called the Rutuli. When he heard that he had lost his bride in this manner, he made war on Aeneas and Latinus. In the end the Rutuli were driven across the Tiber into

Etruria; but King L^uavinus was slain in battle. So Aeneas ruled in his stead, and all his people were called Latins. The town of Lavinium was built, named after Lavi^u the queen; and the Latins grew strong enough to drive the Etruscans across the Tiber.

When Aeneas died his son Ascanius ruled over the Latins. In his day there was not room enough in Lavinium for all the people, so he built another city named Alba Longa. At Alba Longa the kings who Alb^u came after him dwelt. Nothing much is recorded of Lon^g the line of kings who followed him until we come to Procas. Procas was great-grandfather to the famous twins who founded Rome itself. Procas had two sons. When he died, Amulius, the younger, drove Numitor, the elder, from the throne. Fearing that when they grew up the children of Numitor might seek vengeance for their wronged father, Amulius put the sons to death, but the daughter, Rhea Silvia, gave birth to twin sons, whose father was, according to the legend, the god Mars himself. Amulius was furious, ordered the mother to be imprisoned for ever, and the bāb^es to be drowned in the Tiber.

The servant to whom the order was given did not like the task, for the boys were beautiful and healthy. He carried them up to the marshes towards the Palatine, where the river had overflowed its banks and the water was not at all deep. There he contented himself with placing the basket at the edge of the water, where it might later on be washed away without his having to see it happen, or perhaps be saved and picked up by some kind-hearted passer by, while the king knew nothing of the matter. As it Rom^u happened, the flood abated, and the wicker basket with and^l the children in it was left high and dry among the reeds at the water's edge. There it was found by a shepherd named Faustulus, and in later times the Romans

used to tell how, when he found the children, they had not suffered from hunger, though some time had passed since they had been left, for when Faustulus came upon them they were being fed by a mother wolf who had lost her own cubs. A woodpecker too had brought them food. Faustulus took the wolf's nurslings home to his wife, and under her care the twins, whom he called Romulus and Remus, grew to be strong and handsome young men. Among the shepherds, their companions and playfellows, they soon made themselves leaders. They gathered a band of young men of their own age to defend their flocks and those of the other herdsmen against the robbers who used to come down from the hills and carry off their sheep and cattle. The robbers, once defeated, resolved to be avenged. When Romulus and Remus went with their comrades to a festival held on the Palatine Hill, they lay in ambush for them. Though Romulus escaped in the fight that followed, Remus was captured and carried before King Amulius, who of course had no idea who the young man was. But Faustulus had long ago guessed the secret from the fine linen and the furnishings of the basket in which he had found the twins. He now feared that Amulius might guess likewise when he saw the young man. Therefore he told Romulus the secret of his birth that he might save his brother. Romulus at once gathered his companions together. Remus was freed, Amulius killed, and Numitor, now a very old man, restored to his kingdom of Alba Longa.

After these exploits Romulus and Remus did not feel much inclined to return to the simple life that they had been leading as shepherds. Since Lavinium and Alba Longa were both overcrowded, they made up their minds to found a new city. Their first home, the place where

they had begun life and been brought up, was the district round the Palatine Hill. This, then, seemed to them the right place for the site of their new city. Hitherto the twins had done everything together, but now there was a question, after which of them should the new city be called, and who should be lord in it? Both were strong willed, neither was willing to give way to the other. No one knew which of them was really the elder. They decided to consult the gods, and asked them for a sign by which they might know which was the chosen founder of the city that was to be. Romulus took up his stand on the Palatine Hill; Remus on the Aventine. Then each waited until some sign should be given. The Romans thought that to see birds flying across the sky on the right-hand side was a sign of encouragement from the gods, just as to see them on the left was a sign of disapproval. At last Remus cried out that he saw a flight of six birds on the right. Romulus had up to that moment seen nothing, but just as the messenger came to tell him of the omen seen by his brother, he himself saw a flight of twelve birds also on the right. He insisted that since he had seen twice as many birds as Remus he was the chosen founder of the city. There was a long dispute; at last Romulus's stronger will and greater belief in himself overcame his brother, and he began to build his wall. Remus had given way, but he was sore and angry, and now, to show his scorn, he leaped over the few stones that Romulus and his men had begun to place on top of one another. Romulus was indignant and threw his spear at his brother. It killed him at once. 'Let this be the fate of all who do the like!' cried Romulus.

Founding
of the city.

Such was the beginning of the city of Rome. The city of the Seven Hills at first occupied only one of them,

the Palatine Mount; but it soon spread on to the others. Small though it was it rapidly grew. The first inhabitants were of course the companions of Romulus and the settlers who followed him from the overcrowded towns of Lavinium and Alba Longa. On the Capitoline Hill Romulus opened a place of refuge for fugitives and wanderers from other parts of the country, and many men gathered there who helped in the building of the new city, and were ready to fight for it if need were, as for their home. But though in this manner men enough were soon gathered together, there were hardly any women.

When Romulus sent messengers to the other Latin towns to ask their people to give their daughters as wives to his citizens, they all refused indignantly. They said that the Roman city was full of tramps and vagabonds with whom they would have nothing to do. Thus open means had failed. But Romulus was not so easily to be turned from his purpose. He arranged for a great festival with games to be held in Rome. To this festival strangers came from many of the Sabine towns near, bringing with them their wives and daughters. When the Sabines were all busy attending to the games Romulus gave a signal, and a band of young men at once seized all the Sabine women and carried them off. It was done so suddenly and unexpectedly that none could stop them, and when they tried to get them back it was of no use. The games broke up in confusion, and the Sabines went away very angry at the trick that had been played upon them. They were so angry, indeed, that the people of many of the towns invaded the territory of Rome. They were, however, defeated by Romulus. Then Titus Tatius, the king of all the Sabines, came with a great army. They made their way in by treachery. The daughter of the captain of the Capitoline fort, a maiden

Rape of
the Sabine
women.

named Tarpeia, said that she would guide the enemy Tarpeia. past the gates if they would give her 'what they wore on their left arms'. On their left arms the Sabine men carried heavy bracelets of gold, and these were what Tarpeia desired. But they also carried on their left arms their heavy metal shields, and when she had opened the gate to them, as they passed through they cast these shields upon her so that she was crushed to death beneath their weight as a reward for her betrayal. On the Capitoline the Sabines spent the night; next morning they marched down into the plain between it and the Palatine, and there the battle took place. After a hard-fought day the Romans were beginning to get the best of it, when suddenly the women who had been carried off and married to the Roman men appeared upon the field. With streaming hair and disordered garments they implored their Roman husbands and their Sabine fathers and brothers not to kill one another, but to be friends for their sakes. Thus the battle was stayed, and instead of fighting Romans and Sabines, agreed to join together as one people. Many of the Sabines came to dwell in Rome on the slopes of the Quirinal and Capitoline Hills; and Romulus and Tatius ruled as equal kings over the united people. A few years later, when Tatius was killed in battle, Romulus became king over the whole people. The Sabine word for a spear is 'quiris', and this gave a new name to the Romans, for on solemn occasions, when they were armed with their spears for battle, they were addressed as 'Quirites'.

In the wars that were always going on with one or other of the peoples that dwelt near them, the Romans soon made themselves dreaded for their courage in battle and their skill in all military matters. When the people of Veii in Etruria made raids on the Roman land.

Romulus and his army for the first time crossed the Tiber and drove them back to their homes, laying waste the country as they passed through it.

And Romulus was not only busy with war. He had to look after the welfare of his people at home as well as in the field. All the oldest parts of the law the Romans thought had been put together in the time of Romulus. As king he ruled wisely and well, not as a tyrant, but with the help of his people. A hundred men from among the first dwellers in the city were chosen as a council, called the Senate. The councillors were called 'patres'—fathers—or senators, and the king consulted them on all important matters.

Many temples were built by Romulus to Jupiter and Juno, the king and queen of heaven, and, later, to Minerva the goddess of wisdom.

Death of
Romulus.

The end of Romulus's life was mysterious. Some say that he was murdered by the senators, who were jealous of the great love that the people bore him. Another story, more generally believed, was that one day when Romulus was addressing the army, the clear shining sky suddenly became clouded over with a great darkness. The people waited in amazement and fear while thunder was heard and lightning flashed across the shadowed sky. When the light at last returned, the king had disappeared, and there was no sign of him anywhere.

The people were in great distress, and began to grieve for their king, until they were told how Romulus had appeared from heaven, whither he had been carried in the chariot of the god Mars, his father. From heaven he had sent a message to the people of Rome, telling them that if they devoted themselves to the arts of war they should become the greatest people on the earth, for such was the will of the gods.

CHAPTER II

THE SEVEN KINGS

ROMULUS was the first of the seven kings of Rome. After his miraculous death the Romans did not know whom to choose to come after him. The Sabine part of the people said that it was their turn to name the next king, but the Romans did not like this. A whole year passed before they could come to any agreement. During this time the government was carried on by the senators, each of them acting in turn for a certain number of days as 'inter-rex' or between-king. At last, however, Romans and Sabines agreed to offer the crown to a Sabine named Numa Pompilius. He was dwelling quietly NUMA. in his own country home when the messengers came to tell him of the high honour to which he had been called by the voice of the people; and they found him busied with the service of the gods. At first he wished to refuse the greatness that was thrust upon him, but his friends persuaded him that he ought not to think of himself when it was a question of the good of the country. If he refused the crown, things would once more be at a standstill.

Numa therefore followed the ambassadors to Rome, where he was crowned amid joy of Romans and Sabines alike. After his reign little more is heard of the Sabines who had come to live in Rome; they and the Romans became one people in name and deed.

Numa was a king much unlike Romulus. Romulus had cared most for war; Numa cared most for religion.

In his reign new temples were built, and new orders of priests and priestesses formed. He divided the year into twelve months, and arranged for holidays to be held on the days that were sacred to the gods. He was a very good and gentle man, and full of ripe wisdom. In later days the Romans told that his wisdom was due to the daily conversations that he held with a fair nymph called Egeia. She met the king in a grove sacred to the Muses, where no eyes but his ever beheld her, and it was she who advised him how to act in all questions of State, and how to make his deeds pleasing to the gods.

Numa reigned for forty-three years. In his time there was peace at Rome. He closed the doors of the temple of Janus, the god who looks two ways, to peace and to war, and ordered that when there was peace these doors should always be closed, while when there was war they should be open. So it was henceforth: and in the history of Rome the temple of Janus was very seldom closed.

TULLUS
HOSTI-
LIUS.

For a year after Numa's death no king was elected; then the choice of the people fell upon Tullus Hostilius, whose grandfather had been killed in the battle against the Sabines fought on the Capitoline Hill. Soon after he put on the crown, the doors of the temple of Janus were opened, and they stood open during the most part of his reign of more than thirty years. Tullus himself was warlike in character, and courageous to the point of rashness. He remembered too the words in which Romulus had bid the Romans make themselves great by war.

A chance soon came. Some men of Alba Longa had carried off cattle from the Roman farms: though the Romans had treated the Alban farmers in the same way before, King Tullus at once sent to Alba Longa to demand that the cattle should be given back. When the

Albans delayed, he collected the army with surprising swiftness, and by the time they had returned the answer to say they could not do what was asked, he declared war. King Cluilius led the Alban army against him ; but on the march he died, which Tullus Hostilius declared to be a sign from the gods that they were on the side of the Roman people. With a great army he invaded the Alban land. The Albans had chosen Mettius as their leader, and Mettius proposed to Tullus that each army should choose from among its numbers three champions. Their combat was to decide the day for Rome or Alba. The Romans chose three brothers of the name of Horatius, the Albans three of the family of Curiatius. At first the day seemed to be in favour of the Alban champions, for two of the Horatii lay dead upon the ground, and only one of their opponents had fallen. But of those left, Horatius was fresh and unharmed, while both the Curiatii were wounded. With great skill he contrived to separate the two, for one of them was wounded in the leg and could not follow as fast as Horatius could flee. In this way, since he was more than a match for each of them singly, Horatius killed first one and then the other, and won the victory for Rome. His fellow citizens brought him back to the city in triumph, carrying the spoils he had won from the fallen Curiatii. As he entered the town, full of joy, he was met by his sister. But she, instead of rejoicing in the victory of Rome, began to weep and lament. She had been betrothed to a man of Alba, one of the hapless Curiatii ; she saw his cloak among the spoils that her brother bore, and knew that he was dead. Horatius was furious that his sister should shed tears for an enemy of Rome, and think more of her own loss than of the triumph of her country. He turned upon her

Right of
appeal.

and plunged his dagger in her heart, crying, 'Go, join your beloved, unnatural girl, who can forget at such a time as this your dead kinsman, your living brother, and even your country itself! Such be the fate of every one who mourns for an enemy of Rome.' The old father who stood by cried out that his daughter deserved her death: he would himself have slain her had her brother not done so. According to the law Horatius was guilty of murder, and the king ordered him to be bound, ready for death. But Horatius cried aloud, 'I appeal to the people!' (*provoco!*), and Tullus Hostilius ordered him to be judged by a vote of the whole people: by their votes he was set free. From that day on, this right of appeal (*provocatio*) belonged to all Roman citizens.

Since the combat had been won by the Roman champions, Mettius promised that in all their wars the Alban army should assist the Romans.

Destruction of
Alba
Longa.

Very soon after, the Romans were at war with the people of Fidenæ, a town to the north, close to the Tiber, and half-way between Rome and Veii. King Tullus reminded Mettius of his promise, and demanded that the Alban army should come to assist the Romans. Mettius pretended to obey, and an army was sent into the field. But it was quite clear that the Albans did not mean to give any real help. Time was wasted, and nothing done. When the hosts were drawn up for battle, the Alban detachments took their place; but when the fight began between Romans and Fidenates they withdrew to the mountains. Such treachery was hateful to the Romans, and a terrible vengeance was taken by their king. Mettius was fastened to two chariots drawn by fiery horses in opposite directions, and torn in pieces. The city of Alba Longa was utterly destroyed, and all its people brought to live in Rome. By this means the population of Rome was nearly

doubled. New houses were built on the Coelian Hill, and the numbers of the army, the senate, and the tribes into which the people were divided, were increased.

The next war was with the Sabines. The Sabines and the Etruscans were the strongest peoples in Italy; but in this war the Sabines were beaten by Tullus Hostilius. Altogether his reign was a glorious one for Rome, though its last years were darkened by an outbreak of plague.

On the death of Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Marcius, a ^{ANCUS} grandson of Numa, was named king by the people, and ^{MARCUS.} approved by the senate. During his reign he, like Numa, busied himself much with religious matters, and taught his people many duties to the gods that had been somewhat neglected during the days of Tullus Hostilius, when men were busy with constant war.

The Latins, indeed, seeing the Roman king occupied with religion, thought that he would be lacking in spirit. They made a raid across the Roman frontier, and refused to give back the prisoners, and the cattle, and other property that they had carried off, or to repair the damage they had done. They were quite mistaken, however, in thinking that King Ancus would allow such things to pass unrevenged. He at once sent a herald ^{Latin War.} to demand satisfaction from the Latins, and when they refused it he declared war. In the war the Romans were victorious. Many Latin towns were besieged, some were destroyed and their inhabitants compelled to come and live in Rome, where dwelling-space was found for them on the Aventine.

To make the city yet stronger Ancus built a wooden bridge across the Tiber, between the city and the citadel on the Janiculum. This bridge—called the Pons Sublicius—was built so that it could be taken away at any danger of attack, and could not be used by the enemy.

Ostia.

At the mouth of the Tiber, some sixteen miles from Rome, Ancus built the port of Ostia, which gave Rome command of the sea.

The
Tarquins.

Rome's nearest neighbours on the north side of the Tiber were the Etruscans, and between them and Rome there was friendship. Many Etruscan noblemen came to dwell in Rome at this time; for the city was rapidly becoming great and rich. Among those who came was a nobleman of Greek descent, called Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. He brought with him his wife Tanaquil, a woman as ambitious as her husband. Both of them hoped to find fortune in Rome. Tanaquil was skilled in the reading of signs and omens. As they approached the Janiculum, on their journey to Rome, an eagle suddenly swooped down and lifted the cap her husband wore; then with loud shrieks put it back upon his head. Tanaquil was delighted. 'This,' she said to Tarquin, 'is a sign that promises you the highest honours in your new country.' Tarquin was a man of great wealth, skilled in the management of affairs. He soon became known to king Ancus, who thought highly of him, and trusted him so much that he speedily became the first man about the Court.

After a reign of four and twenty years King Ancus died, full of honours. Tarquin had made up his mind to rule after him, and as soon as the news of Ancus's death became known he went about among the people to get their votes for himself—a thing that had never before been done. The two young sons of Ancus were away in the country hunting, as Tarquin had himself advised them to do, for he feared that the people might incline to them had they been in Rome. Although a foreigner Tarquin was elected king.

TAR-
QUINIUS
PRISCUS.

During the reign of Tarquin, several wars were waged

against the Sabines in which the Romans were victorious. The Sabine town of Collatia was taken and added to the territory of Rome. Tarquinius also improved the city by beginning a magnificent system of drains, so well built that parts of them can be seen to this day. ^{Cloaca} ^{Maxima.} These drains were not only necessary for the health of those who dwelt in the town; they also improved the country round it by carrying off the water with which the valleys were flooded when the Tiber overflowed its banks. On the Capitoline Hill Tarquin laid the foundations of a splendid temple to Jupiter, and to it the Romans came from all the country round to worship the father of gods and men. Between the Palatine and Aventine hills he began an immense racecourse—the Circus Maximus. The senators and richer citizens—the knights—were to build their boxes at their own expense. In this circus the games were held every year. The number of senators was raised by Tarquin to 300, and that of the knights was doubled.

Tarquin built temples to the gods; but he was rather scornful of the way in which the priests, called augurs, foretold good and bad fortune by looking at the entrails of the sacred birds which were bred and killed for the purpose. A certain Attus Naevius was the most famous augur of the time, and the king said to him, 'If you can look into the future, tell me whether the thing of which I am thinking at this moment is possible or no.' Naevius examined the position of the organs of the chicken he had just killed, and said, 'Yes, it is possible.' Tarquin laughed. 'I was thinking,' he said, 'of cutting this whetstone with a razor. Try it!' He held out a razor to the priest with a mocking smile, expecting to see him utterly at a loss. ^{The} ^{augurs} Naevius took the razor and cut through the stone with the greatest ease. After this

the power of the augurs grew. War was not declared, nor the army sent forth, nor anything done in the State at all, without consulting them. If they declared that 'the omens were unfavourable', the business, whatever it was, was put off to the next day.

Servius
Tullius

About this time a strange thing happened in the palace. A boy named Servius Tullius, who had been born there, the son of a servant, was found asleep by Tanaquil the queen and her attendants, with his hair apparently on fire. Flame was playing round his head, and yet he did not seem to be at all disturbed in his sleep. When the boy awoke the flame vanished, and he was none the worse. Tanaquil took him under her protection, for she felt sure there was a wonderful fortune in store for him; and as he grew up he was trusted by Tarquin, and consulted by him in all matters. So much did the king and queen love him that they gave him their daughter for his wife, although he was of such lowly birth; and when Tarquin died Servius Tullius easily got himself chosen as king. Some writers tell that Tarquin died of old age, others that he was murdered by the sons of Ancus.

SERVIVS
TULLIVS

Wall.

Servius Tullius ruled in peace and wisdom for four and forty years. During his reign there were few wars. Rome had grown so strong that none of her neighbours dared to attack her. In the time of Servius was built the wall round the Seven Hills, which lasted for seven hundred years as the boundary of the city, down to the days of the Empire. and at the same time the agger or mound begun by Ancus, that stretched about three-quarters of a mile from the Colline Gate, was finished.

The other great work of Servius Tullius was a change in the political life of the Roman citizen. In the government of Rome the sole power did not belong to the king.

The king was chosen by the people, and no law could be passed, nor questions of peace or war decided, unless the people were consulted. All the citizens met twice a year in their assembly; and before this assembly the king proposed any change in the laws that he wanted to make. The assembly was bound to meet at least twice a year, in March and in May, but the king could call it together at any time of need. The king could not say who was to rule after him: all he could do was to recommend some one to the assembly of the people. And the king was not only bound to consult the assembly of all the citizens, he had also to take the advice of the senate. Romulus had chosen a hundred of the older men and made them senators: as time went on the elder among them died and the kings filled up their places with others of good family or known wisdom. As the city grew, the senate was increased in number till in the time of Tarquin it was 300. The senators were 'patres' or patricians, that is, men whose fathers, and even grandfathers, had been Roman citizens. It was the pride of a Roman to be able to look back into history and find father, grandfather, and great-grandfather of the same name as himself, all citizens serving the state; to look forward and to think of son, grandson, and great-grandson carrying on the same name, and doing the same service. Death was an evil no man could escape: to the Roman the painful thought was that his family, his name, might cease to be. To have no son to carry on his name was to a patrician a bitter grief. In his house, by the side of the images of the gods, were ranged the busts of his departed ancestors: a place awaited his own bust in its turn. Only patricians could sit in the senate.

In Roman law, which bound the king as well as every one else, all citizens were equal. All wore alike the

citizens. simple toga of white wool; save that the senators had a purple line round their toga, there was no difference in the dress of rich and poor. Every citizen had to serve in the army. Those who were rich served in the cavalry, each man providing his own horse and equipment; those less well off served in the infantry. There were no paid soldiers. In the army a son might command his father, a poor man be over a rich patrician. All citizens had to pay war taxes; they had to give their labour when public work was being done, drains or temples built, bridges constructed or roads laid. The temples on the Capitoline and Palatine Hills, the mound and the city wall of Servius Tullius, the great drain and the Circus of Tarquin, were built by the unpaid labour of citizens.

Citizens were equal; but by the time of Servius Tullius more than half the population of Rome was made up of men who were not citizens. They lived in Rome, but were not Romans. They could not vote in the assembly; they might not marry a citizen's daughter; they did not serve in the army or on the public works. These men were the servants or clients of the great families; people employed about the house in cooking, cleaning, the making and repairing of armour, furniture, and articles of common use; and the men who worked on the land.

plebs. Some had been slaves in early days, poor relations of great families that had died out, foreigners who had come to Rome from elsewhere, from the Sabine cities or from Alba Longa. They were all called 'plebs'—the populace, or plebeians. And as time went on these plebeians became very numerous. The patricians began to complain that their duties as Roman citizens were too heavy. Many of them were killed in every war. The king wanted to make his army bigger, and to get more money by the war tax; and the patricians were getting fewer.

He could not get more from them, so he turned to the plebeians.

The first thing he did was to count all the free men living in Rome and divide them into twenty tribes and four districts, according to the part of the city in which they lived. Then officers were appointed whose business it was to find out and write down the amount of property possessed by every free man. The property was either in land or cattle as a rule. Then, according to the amount he had, each man, whether a citizen or no, plebeian as well as patrician, had to pay a tax to the State treasury.

Constitution of
Servius
Tullius.

All the people in these twenty tribes who paid taxes (those who had less than a certain small amount of property did not pay at all) were now the army. They were divided into five classes, or 193 centuries, according to the taxes they paid. The first eighteen centuries were cavalry, and were provided with horses free; then came 120 centuries of heavy armed infantry, the amount of their armour varying with their wealth; then the light armed men; and then a single century of the very poor who did not have to serve at all.

The plebeians—all but the very poorest—had now to pay taxes and serve in the army as the patricians had, but they still had no votes; and though they appeared when the people met together as an army, they could do nothing in the assembly.

This counting of the people showed that Rome was beginning to be one of the strongest states in Italy. Servius Tullius dealt wisely with Rome's allies among the Latin peoples. He induced them to join together in building a temple on the Aventine Hill to the goddess Diana, which should belong to them all. That the temple of the league was in Rome showed that Rome was its head.

Latin
League.

Tarquin
the Proud.

But in his own household Servius Tullius had a dangerous enemy. This was Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, the son of Tarquinius Priscus. He and his gentle brother Arruns had married the two daughters of the king, both named Tullia, and they all dwelt in the royal palace. Lucius Tarquinius was bold, haughty, and ambitious, and resolved to make himself king at all costs. His own wife tried to restrain him by her sweetness and goodness, but he cared nothing for her, all his heart being given to her sister, the wife of Arruns. She, of a character as hard and aspiring as his own, returned his wrongful love. Arruns and Lucius's wife Tullia died in a mysterious manner soon after one another; and Lucius married Tullia, the widow of Arruns. She urged him on the evil path which his own ambition had chosen. By promises of great rewards he gathered round him a party of discontented men, senators and others; and one day, followed by a band of armed men, he made his way into the Forum, took his place on the throne, and called upon the people to restore the royal line of Tarquin and drive forth Servius, the son of a slave. Servius was now a very old man; and when he tried to speak Tarquin shouted him down. At the last he threw him down the steps of the senate house while he himself went in. At the bottom of the steps the king was killed by Tarquin's men. Tullia came into the senate house and saluted her husband as king. As she drove back to the palace in her chariot the driver suddenly drew up his horses; they were about to pass over the dead body of the murdered king. Tullia fiercely cried to the man to drive on, and her chariot wheels passed over the corpse of her aged father. The street where this horrible deed took place was always afterwards regarded as ill-omened by the Romans.

Thus did Tarquin the Proud make himself king.

Tarquinius Superbus was the first tyrant to rule in Rome, and the last. He had won the throne by murder, and he held it by injustice. The way in which he had obtained the crown made it impossible for him to use it well, for he had set all right-thinking men against him, although he was a good general, and, like all his family, clever and strong-willed.

TAR-
QUINIUS
SUPERBUS.

Fearing for his life, he went about everywhere with a bodyguard. He would not allow Servius Tullius to be buried with religious rites, and he put to death many senators whom he knew to disapprove of his murder. He threw men into prison and condemned them to death without caring for the laws. The good laws of Servius Tullius were neglected.

In war Tarquin was successful. The Volscians and Gabii, the people of Gabii were defeated. After Sextus, the king's son, had taken Gabii, he sent a messenger to his father to ask him what to do with the people. When the messenger arrived, Tarquin was walking up and down in his garden, swinging a stick in his hand. With this stick he struck off the heads of the tall poppies, one after another, without saying a word. Sextus knew what was meant, and put the chief men of Gabii to death.

The poor hated Tarquin because he made them labour at the great drain that had been begun by his father, and at the Circus Maximus. The patricians hated his pride and scorn of them. All classes detested his injustice.

One day something happened which alarmed the king, and which none was able to explain. A serpent came out of a wooden pillar and ate the sacrifice that lay on the altar. The alarm felt by every one was so great that the king's two sons and a patrician named Lucius Junius Brutus were sent to Delphi to ask the priestess there

Embassy
to Delphi.

for an explanation. The priestess only replied that he who first kissed his mother should rule in Rome. To the young Tarquins the message meant nothing, but as they all landed on Italian soil, Brutus pretended to stumble and fall, and thus kissed his mother earth. The others thought no more of the matter, especially as Brutus seemed to them a dull stupid fellow. But soon afterwards Brutus showed his real character.

King Tarquin sent an army to besiege Ardea, a town belonging to the Rutuli. This army was led by the king's son Sextus, and his cousin Tarquinius Collatinus. Collatinus had a very beautiful young wife named Lucretia, whose goodness he praised so highly that it angered his cousin Sextus. He was the more angry because he had himself fallen in love with her beauty, while she cared only for her husband. One night therefore he left the camp and went to Collatia, where Lucretia was in charge of her husband's house. There he insulted her so grievously that she called to her husband and her father and Brutus, the friend of Collatinus, and told them what had passed. Then cursing the house of Tarquin, and calling upon them to avenge the wrong that had been done her, she plunged a dagger into her heart, and fell dead upon the ground at their feet. They stood horror-struck. But Brutus drew out the dagger from the wound, and said, 'By this pure and injured blood I swear, and I call the gods to witness my vow, so to pursue and punish the accursed tyrant Tarquinius Superbus, his abominable wife and all his offspring, with steel and fire and every other means, that neither they nor any other man shall ever rule as king in Rome again.' Collatinus and Lucretius, the father of Lucretia, took the same oath. Lucretia's corpse was displayed in the market-place of Collatia; and the citizens gathered

round Brutus, and declared they would follow him to Rome.

In Rome little was needed to make the people rise against the tyrant. Brutus proposed that the family of Tarquin should be for ever exiled from the city, and so it was agreed. Tullia fled from her palace. The king, who was at Ardea, marched against Rome. The gates were shut against him, and he had to flee to Etruria.

It was declared that kings should no longer reign in Rome. In their stead two officers called consuls were chosen every year by the citizens to lead the army and look after the affairs of state; they were to hold power for one year only. The first consuls chosen in Rome, now a Republic, were Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus—but Collatinus gave up his office, since all of the name of Tarquin had been sentenced to banishment for ever, and Valerius Publicola was chosen in his stead.

The property of the Tarquins was divided among the poorest citizens; the fields belonging to them at the bend of the Tiber were made into a public ground for military exercises, called the Campus Martius.

There were some of course who had been favoured by Tarquin who wanted to see him restored. A conspiracy was discovered and put down before any harm had been done. Among the conspirators were two youths, the sons of the consul Brutus. At such a moment Brutus was not only a father; he was the lover and servant of his country. All the conspirators were condemned to death by the consul, and Brutus, without making any sign of grief, watched the execution of his two sons. He had made the first sacrifice to the new Republic.

CHAPTER III

ETRUSCAN AND LATIN WARS

CORIOLANUS

THE Tarquins were Etruscans by birth, and when they were driven forth from Rome they took refuge among their own people and there stirred up war against Rome.

The
Etruscans.

Between the Romans and the Etruscans there was no lasting friendliness. The Romans felt that the Sabines and the Volsci, the Rutuli and the Hernici, and all the other tribes that dwelt in or near Latium, were their kinsfolk ; but the Etruscans were strangers. In appearance they were very much unlike the other races living in Italy : the latter were all slender, well-made people with small heads and graceful bodies, but the Etruscans were short and thick-set with very big heads and stout, clumsy arms. The language they spoke was not Roman, and their religion was strange and fearful. Their gods were dark and mysterious : the people sacrificed to them after strange rites in the dead of night.

The Etruscans were traders and sailors. Their ships ruled the sea and were dreaded far and wide, for they were pirates. The Phoenicians who lived in Syria and in the north of Africa were their allies, and they and the Etruscans between them commanded the Tyrrhenian sea and had the largest vessels on the Adriatic. Corsica and Sardinia belonged to the Phoenicians who ruled in Carthage, and part of Sicily also had been conquered by them.

Between Rome and Etruria rivalry and hatred had long been growing. At the present time the Etruscans were the strongest people in Italy, and they had watched the growth of the power of Rome with uneasy feelings. Rome had made no conquests on the Etruscan side of the Tiber, but on the other side her land was extending and she was the head of the league of all the Latin cities. So long as an Etruscan family ruled in Rome the Etruscans at home were satisfied; but now that the Tarquins had been driven out, they were eager to seize the chance of lowering the proud city.

Lars Porsena, the King of Clusium, one of the first cities of Etruria, collected an immense army and marched upon Rome with King Tarquin and his sons. In this danger Rome was deserted by many of her Latin allies. Some of the cities wished to be free, others were favourable to the cause of Tarquin. Lars Porsena was a skilful general, and he had a very powerful army, much larger than any the Romans could bring into the field against him. The heights of the Janiculum were taken by storm. The invaders had only to cross the wooden bridge to be in the city itself. They would have crossed it but for the heroism of one man, who on that day proved himself the bulwark of his country. This was Horatius Cocles, so called because he had but one eye. The Romans, defeated in battle, fled across the bridge to gain the safety of the city walls. The Etruscans were following them, fighting every inch of the way as they came. Horatius, who was in the thick of the fight, saw that the Romans were being worsted, and that there was but one way of safety, namely, to cut the bridge. A handful of devoted men could hold the bridge, which was very narrow, at the far end. Meantime at the other end, close to the city walls, the engineers were to cut

Lars
Porsena.

Rome in
danger.

Horatius.

through the wooden beams that supported it. It would then crash into the river with all the men upon it, and the city would be saved. Horatius found two companions, Spurius Lartius and Titus Herminius, who were willing with him to give their lives for their country.

The three men took up their stand at the far end of the bridge, and so desperately did they hold their own, in spite of the shower of darts and arrows that fell upon them and the many swords and spears that were directed against them, that not one of the Etruscans got past. The enemy were a hundred to three; but the bridge was so narrow that not many could attack at once. Horatius himself stood furthest away from the Roman end. When he saw that the axes of the engineers had done their work and that the bridge was beginning to give way, he ordered his two companions to return quickly across it before it fell—for so long he could keep back the assailants. Step by step the two retreated, but Horatius held his place until he heard the crash and roar of breaking wood. Then, just as the bridge fell, he leapt into the river. Wounded though he was he managed to swim to the shore, where he was rescued by his friends and received with the honour due to such heroism.

Now that the bridge was cut, Rome could not be taken by storm. Porsena encamped outside and resolved to reduce it by hunger. He knew that the city was crowded with all the people who had hurried thither from the country round, and the food supplies could not last long for such a number.

The siege went on, and there were no signs of giving in. The distress within the city was great, but the pride of its defenders greater. Among them was a young patrician named Caius Mucius. He could not bear that an enemy should think that Rome was less powerful as a

Republic than when it was ruled by a king. One day, therefore, wrapped in his toga, with a dagger hidden in its folds, Mucius made his way into the Etruscan camp. In the centre several men clad in purple were busy paying out money to the soldiers. The young man guessed one of them to be Porsena, and suddenly drawing his weapon he plunged it in the man's heart. He dropped dead: however, it was not Porsena, but only his secretary. Mucius was carried before the king, and when asked who and what he was, replied, 'I am a Roman, Caius Mucius by name. All Romans can do great deeds and endure great suffering. There are three hundred young men in Rome as resolved as I was to give their own life in the attempt to take yours—you cannot escape them all.' Porsena was alarmed by his words and manner, and demanded the names of the others. When the young man refused he ordered him to be tortured until he confessed. Without a word Mucius approached the altar where a flame was burning. In it he held his right arm until it was charred and withered by the fire. Meantime his face showed no feeling and he uttered no sound of pain. Porsena was so much impressed that he sent him back to Rome without another word: from the loss of his right arm Mucius henceforward bore the name 'Scaevola', left-handed.

In spite of all their heroism and endurance the Romans were compelled at last by famine to ask Porsena for terms. The terms were hard, although the king never entered the city. The lands on the right bank of the Tiber, part of which had been the property of the Tarquins, had to be given up, and the citizens were deprived of the use of arms. Iron might only be used for ploughshares and scythes, no longer for swords or spears. This was very bitter to the citizens. They were

dependent on the hated Etruscans. This appeared from the rich gifts that were sent to Lars Porsena—a throne and sceptre of ivory, a robe of purple and a crown of gold. Twenty high-born boys and girls were sent as hostages. Among the girls was the maiden Cloelia. She with some of her companions escaped on horseback and swam up the Tiber to Rome. But Publicola the consul kept faith, and the Romans at once sent the girls back.

It was a dark hour for Rome. It seemed that the city had got rid of the tyranny of the kings only to suffer worse things—defeat and the rule of another race. But one evil had not happened—the Etruscans had not after all brought the Tarquins back to rule in Rome.

The Etruscans, indeed, cared very little about the Tarquins, save as an excuse for attacking Rome. They had wanted to attack her, because she was strong and growing stronger, and they wanted to rule in Italy themselves. Rome and the Latin lands came between them and the towns of their Etruscan kindred in Campania. The rich town of Capua was ruled by Etruscans; and if Lars Porsena could join the Etruscan lands in Campania to the Etruscan lands in the north he would be far more powerful than any ruler in Italy. In order to bring this about he attacked Aricia, a strong town near the Alban Mount which lay between the territory of the Latins and of the Volsci, and on the high road between Etruria and Campania. The Latin tribes saw at once how dangerous it would be for them to allow the Etruscans to gain command of the road to Campania. In Campania the towns where Greek settlers lived were equally alarmed. They suffered already from the Etruscan pirates: to have them ruling in Campania would be ruin. Cumae, the oldest Greek colony in Italy,

sent an army to help the people of Aricia. Outside the Aricia. town the Etruscan army was defeated and their leader slain; the siege was given up and the few hundreds of men who escaped from the battle took refuge in Rome, where they were kindly treated and found a new home.

Rome profited by the defeat of the Etruscans to make arms for themselves once more. Part of the land on the right bank of the Tiber was won back from the people of Veii. Arms were very necessary, for two wars followed, first with the Sabines and then with the Latins.

The Sabines thought that the weakness of Rome would enable them to conquer some of the land to the north, War. and they invaded it. For three years there was constant fighting on the borders. On the whole the Romans were successful. Their armies were led by that Valerius Publicola. Publicola who had been first consul with Brutus and was chosen twice afterwards to fill the office. Publicola was the soul of honour and wholly devoted to the good of his country. After a long life of service he died so poor that he had to be buried at the public cost. It was about this time that the great family of Claudii came The Claudii. from one of the Sabine towns and took up their abode in Rome, after the Sabine War had come to an end in the great victory won by the Romans near Cures.

The Sabine War was hardly ended when another and more dangerous one began. Tarquin had failed to win back his crown by the help of the Etruscans, who had purposes of their own that made them care little about his, but he had by no means given up hope. He turned to the Latins. Many of the Latin towns favoured him, Latin War. and after some years of preparation a great Latin host took the field against Rome. The Romans marched out Battle of Lake Regillus. to meet them, and when the armies came in sight of one another near Lake Regillus the generals on either side B.C. 498.

could not restrain the passions of their soldiers, and they rushed at one another. The battle was terrible, for both sides fought with desperate fury. Marcus Valerius, the brother of Publicola, pursued the younger Tarquin right into the lines of the enemy, where he was slain by a spear. The Latin general was killed in single combat by a Roman lieutenant named Herminius, who was himself so severely wounded that he was only able to drag himself back to his own camp to die. The armies were evenly matched and the victory seemed doubtful. Then Postumius the Roman general, seeing that the Latins seemed to be gaining the upper hand, vowed that he would build a temple to Castor if the god would send the Romans help. Afterwards a story was told that when Postumius had made this vow, men saw in the front line of the Roman cavalry two young horsemen of more than human height and beauty who had not been there before and who were known to none in all the host. They led the Roman charge, and seemed to inspire the army with new strength and courage by their presence. The spears and swords of the enemy passed them by untouched although they rode in the thick of the fray; and the day ended in great victory for Rome. That same evening, when the people at home were waiting in great anxiety to know how the day had gone with the army, two young men, tall and gloriously beautiful, and marvellously like to one another, were seen washing the foam from their horses, which were stained by the dust of battle, in the spring near the temple of Vesta. They told some who asked them for news that the Romans had defeated the Latins in a great battle, and then they disappeared.

Postumius returned in triumph, and July 15, the day of the victory, was held as a festival to the twin gods

Castor and Pollux. On that day sacrifices were made to them at the temple which Postumius built as he had vowed. And the knights, clad in purple garments and their brows bound with olive, rode thither in procession from the Campus Martius.

Two years after this battle Tarquin died. The Latins 496. had made terms with Rome after their defeat; and Spurius Cassius, a Roman senator, had caused the Latin league to be formed anew with Rome once more as a member of it. War still went on with the Volscians, but the Latins would not help them against Rome. With the Volscians indeed there was never lasting peace, and the hundred years that followed the expulsion of the kings were filled with wars for Rome.

Difficulties did not only come from enemies without; there were also great difficulties within the city itself. The case of the plebeians had got harder. Constant wars made the taxes they had to pay very heavy, and the poor man could earn little money when he had to go and serve in the army. In the long siege much property had been destroyed. The fields had been neglected, and then been trampled down by invading armies, so that the crops failed and the cattle died for want of food. Plague had broken out more than once and there had more than once been famine. The poor plebeians, however hard their lot, had no one to speak for them. In the assembly where laws were made and taxes settled they had no voice, and the poor citizens were always outvoted by the rich. Since the time of Horatius every Roman had the right of appeal to the people when he was judged; but this did not help the poor much. Their wrongs were poverty and helplessness. They had no one to speak for them and could not help themselves. War and bad times made the rich, the men with big estates, richer,

The
Plebeians.

because they got a higher price for the corn and food they had to sell ; but the p^cor grew poorer, because everything they had to buy cost more, and their own earnings were less. When they could not pay they got into debt, and the Roman law of debt was very harsh. If a poor man borrowed money to pay his rent he had to pay very heavy interest for it. Then if he could not pay back the interest and the money he had borrowed within the settled time, the money-lender (often some rich man) would seize and sell all his property, his little farm and his cattle—the means of making his livelihood. If his property did not fetch enough to pay the debt, the man himself could be seized, loaded with chains, and cast into prison. In prison he could do nothing to help himself. Time passed, the debt of course was not paid : then the money-lender could take the borrower and sell him as a slave. If a poor man once fell into debt his case was hopeless. The State did nothing to help him, and in hard times men had to borrow to keep themselves and their families from starvation till better times. The common land which ought to have belonged to the poor as well as to the rich, belonged in law only to citizens, and at this time none but patricians were citizens. When conquered land was divided it went to the patricians.

Debt.

Common
land.

This state of things embittered the poor against the patricians, and as long as war went on there seemed to be no help for them. When soldiers were being enlisted to serve in the Volscian War, a man appeared in fearful rags, with wild eyes, long hair, and a shaggy beard. He said that he had escaped from prison, where he had lain for long months in darkness, loaded with chains. Pointing to the scars of many wounds received in war, he told that he had been captain of a troop, and

praised for courage by his officers. When he came back from the war, he found that his farm had been burnt and his cattle killed or driven away by the enemy. The tax collectors came; he could not pay, and had to borrow the money. Then the money-lender had seized him and cast him into prison. At this pitiful tale the indignation of the people burst out. Many debtors were let loose from prison, and the populace gathering together demanded some relief from the consuls. The senate was afraid to meet. In the midst of the confusion came the news that the enemy was on the march. A decree was hastily passed that while a man was serving in the army his goods could not be seized for debt. The people were satisfied.

But when they returned after the Volscian War, Appius Claudius the consul repealed the decree. The plebeians were furious. Riots took place, debtors were rescued, meetings were held all over the town. The patricians began to be afraid. When the next call for soldiers came the plebeians refused to enlist. In this difficulty the consuls did not seem strong enough, and therefore, on the advice of the senate, they named Marcus Valerius dictator. Dictator The dictator had for a short time all the powers that the king used to have. All the other magistrates were under him, and there was no right of appeal to the people against him. He was bound by the laws, and as soon as the work for which he was appointed came to an end, he laid down his office. No one was ever dictator for more than six months. Valerius again passed the decree of the year before. Thereupon the young men enlisted. When the army returned victorious Valerius tried to get the senate to pass a law making the punishment for debt less hard. The senate would not listen. Valerius gave up his dictatorship, for he said the senate had

broken faith with the people. 'You will some day be sorry,' he told them, 'that the people's defenders are not all like me.'

The army was indignant. The senate dared not disband it for fear of a riot. The soldiers were bound by a sacred oath to obey the consul. But they were citizens as well as soldiers, and their grievances had not been redressed. In a body the whole army quickly left the city and took up their position on the Sacred Mount outside the walls. Here they fortified their camp and remained peaceably waiting.

Secession
to Mons
Sacer, 493.

Tribunes

Surrounded by enemies as she was, Rome was helpless without her army. The senate could do nothing but give way. The laws of debt were made less severe, and the people were given magistrates of their own to defend their interests. These were the tribunes, at first two, afterwards ten in number, elected every year by the assembly like the consuls. They were to be plebeians themselves, and their business was to guard and attend to the interests of the plebeians. Night and day their houses were to stand open; they might not leave the city; their persons were sacred, and to attack them was a crime against the gods. Their great strength was the power of veto. When a tribune said 'veto'—I forbid—all business was stopped. They could stop the passing of a law or the judgment of a criminal in this way. They were themselves judges for the plebeians, and they could at any time summon the people to meet. When this was decided the army disbanded, and the people returned in orderly manner to their homes.

But the land question was the most difficult of all, and it was not settled. Without land the people remained poor and miserable. Spurius Cassius tried to do something to lessen their poverty. He proposed that the land taken

Land bill
of Spurius
Cassius.

in war with the Hernici should not be in the usual way let out for rent to those who could pay the most for it, for by this means the rich who did not need land would get it instead of the poor who did need it. Instead, he proposed that the new land should be divided among the landless, whether Romans or Latins. But this pleased nobody. The patricians did not like a scheme which gave land to the plebeians rather than to themselves; the plebeians were displeased that the Latins should share their advantage. So Cassius was accused of aiming at kingly power with the help of the Latins, condemned, and put to death. Such was the gratitude of the people to one who had tried to help them. 485

In the senate there were many among the patricians who much disliked the appointment of tribunes, and were disgusted that the demands of the people had been granted. First among these was a young patrician named Caius Marcius, a brilliant soldier, and a man of the most lofty character, but harsh, severe, and unbending in his judgments, and proud and fastidious to an excessive degree. He hated the loud voices, dirty hands, and stupid notions of the people, and was hated in return, because he let them see his thoughts of them: they could not forgive his scornful speeches for the sake of all the noble deeds he had done for Rome in war. Against the Volsci he had specially distinguished himself, and at the siege and capture of the town of Corioli in that war had shown such feats of courage and daring that he was given the name Coriolanus. Rewards of spoil and money he despised, and would not take. Corio-
lanus.

In the war against the people of Antium he did good service, and brought much corn and other booty back to Rome: all that he brought he gave away. Next year he stood for the consulship. The people did not love

him; and their dislike became much greater when he urged the senate not to give them at a low price the corn that had come from the Latin wars and been sent as a present from the people of Syracuse. To do that, he said, would only make them discontented and disinclined to work. Already they spent far too much of their time in meetings where their tribunes, he declared, only stirred up strife: it would be much better for the State if that office were taken away again.

At this the tribunes were indignant, and roused the people to great rage against Coriolanus. When he came before them he was too proud to speak them fair, and as soon as they began to accuse him of pride and injustice, turned on them with angry words. 'Away with the tribunes!' he said. Thereupon the tribunes called on the people to vote that Marcius should be banished from Rome. He cried to them, 'I banish *you*! there is a world elsewhere.'

Taking farewell of his wife and of his mother Volumnia, who had brought him up and whom he loved dearly, he left the city with bitterness in his heart. Though he had always despised the common people he was not great enough to care nothing for their treatment of him. Instead, he made up his mind to punish them. He made his way therefore to the camp of Tullus Aufidius, the general of the people of Antium, and led their armies against Rome. He was a general greater than any then in Rome, and there was much terror in the city. Many of his friends came to the Antiate camp to implore him not to work the ruin of his country, of those who loved as well as of those who had wronged him. But Coriolanus would not listen. Then at last there came his wife and little son and Volumnia his mother. They knelt down before him in the presence of the army, imploring

him to spare his country, saying that true nobility lay not in avenging injuries but in forgiveness of them, and begging him not to ruin all those who loved him and the city to which he owed his first duty. So they spoke, and Coriolanus, saying that they had won a noble victory for Rome but a most dangerous one for him, gave way. He made peace with Rome; but when he returned to Antium he was slain by Tullus Aufidius, who had always been jealous of him.

Rome meantime had not only been fighting constantly with the Volsci, but with her neighbours on the right-hand bank of the Tiber, the people of Veii. Veii was ^{Veii.} a member of the great Etruscan league, and, so long as the Etruscans were powerful, a dangerous neighbour to Rome. But as the fortunes of Rome had been improving those of Etruria had declined. They had been at their height at the time of the expulsion of the kings. About this time they began to fail. Their alliance with the Phoenicians had given them command of the sea; but the Syracusan navy was beginning to be a dangerous rival there. At the time when the Athenians won their great victory over the Persian invaders at Salamis, and so saved the western world, the Syracusans defeated the Phoenicians at Himera. Twenty years after the battle of Himera the Syracusans helped the people of Cumae, who had saved Aricia from Lars Porsena, to defeat the Etruscan fleet at the battle of Cumae. After this the Greek people of Syracuse began to rule in the Tyrrhenian sea, while the Greek people of Tarentum in South Italy grew powerful in the Ionian and the Adriatic. With the loss of their sea-power the Etruscans were doomed. They never had had the strength that was making Rome great—the strength that came from the intense devotion felt by the people for their country, a devotion that made

them ready to sacrifice their lives and everything else they had. The Roman army was made up of Roman citizens; the Etruscan of paid mercenaries. And the Etruscan people never became one. There was no one town which was the centre of Etruscan power; but first one city, then another.

As yet, however, the Etruscan power was great: and Veii a match for Rome. The war was for the most part fought along the border at various points. There were no pitched battles, but many lives were lost and much wealth spent. The forces were so nearly matched that
479 neither side gained much advantage. One year the great patrician family of the Fabii, with all their plebeian dependents and servants, set out on an expedition against Veii, but they fell into an ambush on the way and very few returned to Rome to tell the tale. Another year the Veientes actually occupied the Janiculum, and when they were driven back made an alliance with the Sabines, but after a hard fight the Romans broke up the Sabine camp and the army of the enemy was scattered.

475-438. After this, since neither Rome nor Veii gained anything from the war, a truce was made for 400 months.

Aequi. There was peace then with Veii, but wars still went on with the Volsci, Aequi, and Sabines. Minucius, the Roman consul, was a feeble and timid general. The Aequi attacked his camp during the night, for nothing increases the courage of an army so much as to believe that their opponents fear them. The attack was not wholly successful, but the Aequi were not driven off, and the next morning they began to dig trenches all round the camp so as to blockade the Roman army. Before the lines were complete five horsemen made their way out and brought to Rome the news of the dangerous position of the army. All were dismayed. One man

only they felt could save the State. This was not a man of wealth or high position, but Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus. When the envoys from the senate came to tell him that he had been made dictator they found him on the small farm of four acres, which was all the land he possessed, guiding a plough drawn by oxen. When he heard of the danger of the State he at once called for his toga, and wiping the dirt and heat from his face, followed the envoys to Rome. They carried before him the rods and axes that were the signs of his high office. In Rome he ordered all shops to be shut and all the men of military age (from 17 to 46) to assemble in the Campus Martius with twelve stakes each, as well as their weapons, and food enough for five days. Those too old or too young to serve were to prepare the food and equipment of the others. The army then set forth, and by the middle of the night they were close to the lines that the Aequi had dug round the camp of Minucius. Cincinnatus gave the order. Silently and unobserved in the darkness the Romans surrounded the Aequi, each man planting his stake. When morning dawned the Aequi found they were fenced in between two Roman armies. They could do nothing but surrender. Cincinnatus spared their lives, but compelled them to 'pass under the yoke'—the greatest disgrace to a soldier. Two spears were placed upright in the ground and a third laid across them. The defeated army was made to pass beneath, unarmed, one by one. Thus, after sixteen days of office, Cincinnatus returned home in triumph, bringing much booty to the treasury. He laid down his dictatorship and returned to his farm.

Cincin-
natus.

458.

CHAPTER IV

THE DECENVIRS. VEII

DURING all this time, in spite of the great numbers slain in war, the population of Rome had been growing. Every day people came in to the town from the country round. Etruscans had come from Aricia, and Sabines and Latins from time to time, as the constant wars made them glad to be behind a strong wall.

Plebeians.

In this way the number of the plebeians was constantly on the increase. The number of the patricians, of course, did not grow nearly so fast, since no one coming in from outside could be a patrician, unless he were specially adopted into some family by a religious ceremony. Many of the plebeians were rich men, many well-to-do, but the great mass were very poor. All felt that it was hard that the plebeians, the larger half of the people, should have no share at all in the government of the State, in the making of the laws, and the choosing of the magistrates, even of their own. They paid taxes and gave their services in war, building, and the other undertakings of the State, but though they bore all the burdens they had none of the rights of citizens. Those who were better off among the plebeians felt it very unjust that they could hold no high place in the State, and could do nothing to help their poorer neighbours, for as long as war went on the condition of the poor got worse and not better. They had no land, and the laws of debt still pressed intolerably on them.

Tribunes.

True, the plebeians now had the tribunes to speak for

them. The tribunes by their right of veto could stop the transaction of all business, but they could begin nothing. They could not alter the unjust system of taxation, make new debt laws, or give land to those that needed it. All they could do was to incommode other magistrates and hinder the business of the State. Their power for harm was great. As in the cases of Coriolanus and of Spurius Cassius, they could work the people up to such rage and indignation that a man was banished or condemned to death as a traitor for no real reason at all. Such behaviour as this caused the patricians to regard the tribunes with distrust; and as far as they could they chose men as tribunes who they thought would be safe and who therefore did very little for the people.

The tribunes, though they must be plebeians themselves, were not chosen by the plebeians. This was a real grievance. They were not elected by the whole people but by the old assembly in which only citizens could vote, and men were often chosen who would do what the patricians wished them to do. Even if they could not persuade all the tribunes to do their will, the veto of one could stop the action of all the others. Thus, when one tribune named Spurius Licinius tried to bring in a bill somewhat like that of Spurius Cassius, dealing with the land question, the patricians easily persuaded another tribune to step in and say veto. It was clear that until the plebeians chose their own magistrates they would not be sure of getting men who would really be devoted to their interests and strong enough to stand up for them against the patricians. The fate of Gnaeus Genucius showed how dangerous it was for a tribune to interfere with patricians. During his time of office no magistrate could be accused of any crime; but as soon as he laid it down he could be attacked for what he had

done in the year of office. Gnaeus Genucius, a tribune, accused the two men who had been consuls in the year before of misusing the public money. When the day came on which they were to be tried before the assembly Genucius did not appear. His friends went to look for him and found him dead in his bed: murdered. The people dispersed in terror. The other tribunes were helpless. By law the person of a tribune was sacred; but now they did not seem to be safe. The patricians, and especially the two ex-consuls, rejoiced openly: no attempt was made to find out or punish the murderer.

Lex
Publia
Voleronis,
471.

It was after this that Publilius Volero brought in a bill giving the people the right of electing their own tribunes: they were to be chosen no longer by the citizen assembly but by the whole gathering of all who paid taxes. The patricians fought against the law: they saw that it was only the beginning of giving to the plebeians, one by one, all the rights of citizenship. They were led by Appius Claudius, the son of the Appius who had led the senate at the time of the secession of the people to the Sacred Mount. He was as proud and unbending in his temper as his father had been, and despised the common people as much as he had done. To him they were a mere rabble; he did not see that they had rights and feelings. In spite of all that he could say or do, however, the law was carried. Most of the patricians had enough fairness of mind to see that it was just that the plebeians should elect their own officers. There were rich plebeians in the senate who held this view strongly.

Something had been gained. The tribunes were no longer afraid of the senate. But it was still not easy for them to guard the rights of the plebeians, mainly because no one knew exactly what those rights were, the laws not being written down. Until the laws were written

down so that every one knew what they were, there was always this danger, that in the senate or the assembly where the people were not, the law might be so interpreted as to take away some old, unwritten right. Even the new laws were not written up anywhere where the people could read and learn what they were, and the old laws of the kings had never been written. Every one knew that a Roman citizen had the right to appeal to be judged by his fellow citizens, and that a Roman citizen could not be put to death within the city without trial; but even these rights might be overridden by the senate without the people having anything to say.

The tribunes were anxious to prevent injustice; but they often prevented justice because they were not sure of the law. Many of the patricians, especially Appius Claudius, were eager to get rid of the tribunes: and it now occurred to them that if the laws were written down the people would no longer need tribunes.

Thus, about twenty years after the Publilian law, it was decided to send three senators on an embassy to Athens to study Greek law, and especially the laws drawn up by the wise Solon. 451.

When the embassy returned ten special magistrates Decemviri. were appointed, among them the three ambassadors, to draw up a table or book of the law. These decemviri were not to make new laws but to put into the form of law all the rights belonging to Roman citizens, which had never yet been written down, so that from henceforth the judges and also the ordinary citizen in Rome might know exactly how the law stood and what were the punishments that would follow for any breach of it. For the year no ordinary officers were appointed, but all the power was in the hands of the decemviri. They held the law-courts in turn: and the one who held office for

the day walked in the city with all the lictors before him carrying the rods that were the mark of his dignity.

Ten tables. During the year ten tables of the law were drawn up and set in the market-place, written upon tablets of bronze, that all might read. Then at the end of the twelve months Appius Claudius, the chief of the decemvirs, declared that the work was not quite finished: there were two more tables yet to be drawn up. He himself was re-elected, and then he more or less chose the other nine who were to hold office with him. They were weak men of poor ability, such as would have no will to oppose to his own: three were plebeians, by which means Appius hoped to win the favour of the people for himself.

It soon appeared that the second decemvirate was not at all like the first, which had governed well. Each decemvir now went about with twelve lictors, bearing not only the rods, but the axe. As a rule the consul's lictors bore the axe only outside of the city, for it was the sign of his military power of life and death. And their government was harsh and unjust. Women were insulted in the streets, and men thrown into prison and executed without trial if they tried to protect them. Even after the two extra tables had been put up, making twelve in all, Appius and the other decemvirs refused to give up their extraordinary powers, although the second year had drawn to an end. Men began to say, not without reason, that Appius was aiming at tyranny. The senate was afraid to do anything, and many of the senators went away to their country houses.

A raid made into Roman territory by the Aequians compelled the decemvirs to send out two armies to drive them off. They were badly led and badly equipped and the campaigns were unsuccessful. The enemy were

driven off but not punished. In Rome this caused great indignation, and the decenvirs were justly blamed for not having made proper preparations. Still the senate did nothing.

Appius finding that, as it seemed, he could do what he chose, went a step further. A centurion named Siccus ^{Siccus.} Dentatus, who had fought in a hundred and twenty battles and bore the scars of more than forty wounds, was heard, when on service against the Sabines, talking to his friends of the bad government of the decenvirs, and remarking that it was time the tribunes were brought back. By the order of the decenvirs he was set upon by some men of his troop and murdered, though not till after he had killed several of them in the struggle, for he was a brave man of enormous strength. In the army bitter anger was felt, which was not quieted when Appius ordered Siccus to be buried with the honours of war, for all the soldiers knew that he had been done to death by Appius's orders.

This crime was followed by another. Appius ^{Cladius,} like Sextus Tarquinius, lost his power through the meanest form of evil-doing—a wrong done to a woman whom he thought helpless. Walking the streets of Rome the decenvir saw the beautiful daughter of Virginius, a plebeian serving in the army, and resolved to make her his own, though he knew that Virginia was ^{Virginia.} betrothed to Icilius, a young man whom she loved. Appius ordered one of his own servants to say that Virginia was the daughter of an escaped slave of his, and therefore his property. On this false plea he seized the maiden as she passed through the Forum. Her cries for help drew the attention of her friends, and Icilius tried to protect her. But the decenvir was all-powerful and, in spite of all her prayers and entreaties, carried her

off. A messenger was sent by friends to her father Virginius, who was in camp. He arrived as the case was being tried to decide whether Virginia was the property of Appius or no. The servant of Appius swore that she was his, and as Appius himself was judge, the judgment, of course, went in his favour. Virginia was in the act of being carried off by his servants when her father rushed between them and, crying in a voice of agony, 'My daughter, there is only one way in which I can save thee,' buried his dagger up to the hilt in her breast. She fell dead in his arms. 'The gods,' cried Virginius, turning to Appius, 'will avenge on you this innocent blood.'

- The multitude were enraged. Appius was driven from the Forum. He called the *seiate*, but it was now too late.
449. Even the cowardice of the senators could no longer save him from the wrath of the people, which soon spread to the army. The soldiers rose, removed the commanders chosen by the *decemviri*, elected military tribunes, and, as ~~once~~ before, took up their position on the Sacred Mount.

The *decemvirs* were forced to abdicate. Appius Claudius and his right-hand man Spurius Oppius were thrown into prison, where they took their own lives; the other eight were banished for ever and all their goods seized for the State treasury. Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius were made consuls; tribunes were appointed, and a curse pronounced against any one who should injure them. The new consuls passed a decree which gave to the plebeians in their assembly the power of making bills which, when passed by the citizen assembly, were laws for the whole people.

The *decemvirs* had fallen, but the work they had done in writing down the laws remained. The twelve tables

were set up in the Forum on tablets of bronze. It was a gain that the laws should be known: but the laws of the twelve tables were harsh and severe towards the poor.

The creditor had power to make a slave of the debtor who could not pay within the appointed time. The father had complete authority over his son and his son's children. He could punish them as he chose, he could kill them or sell them into slavery. They were his property: so was his wife, and his daughter until she married, when she passed into the power of her husband. A woman who was divorced from her husband returned into the power of her father. Thieves had to pay three times the amount they had stolen. A burglar caught in the night might be killed on the spot. A man whose arm or leg was broken in an accident by some fault of another's could claim the value of his loss; or if the offender were a slave he was punished by losing his own arm or leg. Bribery was punished by death; and death was the punishment for any one who helped a public enemy. Cases where death was the penalty could only be tried before the assembly of the whole body of citizens. The tenth table forbade gold, except in the stoppings of teeth, to be burned on funeral pyres. The eleventh declared the marriage of plebeians and patricians unlawful.

Many of the wiser patricians felt that this last was a bad law and brought much hardship with it. They were beginning to see that it was a pity that the people should be so divided and that patricians and plebeians should so often think of one another with hatred and scorn. They were beginning to see that it might be for the real good of the State to let the plebeians as well as the patricians have a share in its government, and so make

the people one. By no means all the patricians saw this. There were many who thought, as Appius Claudius and his father had done, that 'the people must be kept in their place'; but there was now a party which thought otherwise, and they supported the tribune C. Canuleius when he brought in a bill which permitted legal marriages between the orders. Finally it was carried in spite of the opposition of the old-fashioned senators.

Lex
Canuleia.

The corn
supply.

440.

The question of poverty remained unsettled : and it was very difficult. Most of the Italians at this time were vegetarians, and therefore the corn supply was exceedingly important. Corn came from various parts of Italy: the constant wars again and again ruined the crops and there was often famine in Rome. Many of the rich who had large estates gave away corn to their poorer neighbours; but when they did so there were always senators ready to get up and say that a man who spent much in charity was trying to win the favour of the populace to make himself king. Spurius Maelius, a very rich knight, had bought much corn in Etruria. In Rome there was a famine; the price of bread went up so high that hundreds were starving. Thereupon Maelius brought out his supply and sold it to the poor at a very cheap rate. Grateful crowds followed him whenever he went out from his house. Some senators at once raised the cry that Maelius was aiming at kingship. It was said that all sorts of people met at his house under cover of darkness, and that arms were being collected there. The tribunes were said to have been bought over. People talked of revolutions and civil war, and the city was full of alarms. As a matter of fact Maelius was a quiet business man who had never held any office in the State and desired to hold none. In

Rome, however, especially after the example of Appius Claudius, the mere cry of 'king' was enough to rouse the mob, and the senate was full of absurd fears. The consul called upon Cincinnatus to be dictator, though Cincinnatus, who was now over eighty, said that he was too old. The people could not imagine why a dictator had been named, since that happened only when the State was supposed to be in danger. Cincinnatus sent Servilius Ahala, whom he had made his master of the horse, to summon Maelius before him. Maelius was alarmed, hesitated, and began to consult with his friends. Thereupon Ahala, without any further parley, drew his sword and struck him dead upon the spot. When he presented himself before the dictator, stained with Maelius's blood, 'Well done,' said old Cincinnatus, 'thou hast saved the Republic.'

Maelius
and Ahala
439.

The people soon forgot Maelius's charity to them, and his name was handed down as that of a traitor, while Ahala was praised for his unhesitating devotion to his country.

During all this time there was never any lasting peace. With the Aequi and the Volsci there was always continuous fighting in the form of border raids, cattle seizing, farm burning. The truce with Veii lasted till a year after the death of Maelius, for during these years the Etruscans had been busy with their own affairs, and when left to itself Veii felt that safety lay in peace. But in this year Fidenae, a town on the Tiber which had long been on friendly terms with Rome and was partly inhabited by Roman colonists, made an alliance with Lars Tolumnius, the King of Veii. Four commissioners were sent from Rome to Fidenae to demand an explanation of this. They were put to death. War was at once declared on Veii and Fidenae. In the first

438.

Fidenae

battle, however, the Romans were compelled to retreat and the enemy's forces entered Roman territory. The next year they were driven back with heavy losses and defeated by Rome in a big battle in which King Tolumnius himself was slain in single combat by Cornelius Cossus. When he rushed into the Veientine ranks with their monarch's head on the end of his spear, they fled. Great booty was brought back to Rome, and Cossus led the triumph with the arms of the king borne before him. Two years later a great army from Veii and Fidenae marched nearly to the Colline Gate only to be driven back with loss. The Romans pursued to the town of Fidenae and laid siege to it. After some months the Roman engineers built an underground mine and tunnel, and by this means the army entered the city. It was kindly treated and bound to Rome.

Cossus.

The people of Veii now appealed to the other Etruscan cities to aid them, and a congress of all the Etruscans was held. At this much alarm was felt in Rome until some travelling merchants brought the news that the congress had decided not to help Veii.

Veii.

For some years there was peace. Then the old raids began again, and the faithless people of Fidenae took part in them. A truce that had been made was broken by the people of Veii, and they defeated a Roman force.

425.

The Romans soon revenged themselves. The enemy's forces were cut to pieces. Fidenae was captured and plundered and was never of any importance again. By losing it the Veientes lost their best ground for an attack on Rome, and they were glad to make another twenty years' truce.

During these years Veii lost strength while Rome gained it. In Veii the people were divided. The Roman armies were being strengthened by constant successful

fighting with Aequi and Volsci, and were full of belief in themselves.

When the truce came to an end the Romans were ready to renew the war and eager to end it for ever, for Veii was a dangerous neighbour. The siege of Veii began. The Etruscan league sent no help, for the King of Veii was unpopular, but the people of Falerii, Tarquinii, and Capena did so, and had to be defeated by Rome again and again. The Volsci rose too; and year after year passed and Veii did not give in. Roman armies were not used to spending the winter in camp: as a rule the soldiers returned then to their farms. The taxes needed to keep so large an army in the field were very heavy. At home the people complained that the patricians were mismanaging the war, as six, seven, eight, nine years passed without success.

In the tenth year a dictator was appointed, a man as proud and stern as Coriolanus, as much hated by the common people, but wiser and less fiery in his temper, and as great a soldier. This was Marcus Furius Camillus.

As soon as he came to the camp everything was changed. Order was restored; discipline, which had grown slack, became severe; new soldiers were enrolled, and those who had fled before the enemy or failed in their duties were severely punished. The lines round the town were strengthened by the building of towers, and a great tunnel was begun by which the city could be entered from underground. Sappers dug night and day in relays until the work was finished. Camillus then vowed a tenth part of the spoil to Apollo at Delphi, and ordered an assault to be made at several points at once: at all points save the citadel. While it was left unprotected, all the defenders being busy at other parts of the

Fall of
Veii

wall, the dictator himself led a picked body of men through the tunnel, and thus attacked the citizens unexpectedly in the rear. Houses were set on fire, and a charge made which burst open the gates and let in the rest of the Roman army. Veii was taken at last. It was a terrible day, for the besiegers were maddened by the ten years' siege, but Camillus ordered the unarmed to be spared. The city was plundered and the inhabitants sold into slavery. Veii was left a ruin.

Camillus made himself very unpopular by making each soldier give up a tenth part of his booty in order to keep the vow he had made to give a tenth part of the spoil to Apollo. The senate decided to send to Delphi a vessel of massive gold. In those days money was little used, and in all the city there was not enough gold to make it. Thereupon the matrons came forward, and each gave up her ornaments, rings, bracelets, and chains of gold, in order that the vow might be kept fitly.

After the fall of Veii Camillus carried on the war, and within five years all the southern part of Etruria was in the Roman power. The great days of the Etruscans were over, and in the north the Gauls were knocking at the gate. On the very day on which Veii was taken by the Romans, Melpum, a strongly walled town on the extreme northern border, was captured by the Gauls and so completely destroyed that no trace of it remained.

CHAPTER V

THE GAULS

THE Gauls belonged to the same family as the other dwellers in Italy; but they were so unlike them in all their ways of life that the land north of the Po had never up to this time been looked upon as part of Italy at all. Within the last fifty years the Gauls had been pushing gradually further and further south. They had long ago crossed the river Po and pressed right up to where the ridge of the Apennines divides Etruria and Umbria. For some time past they had been threatening to cross the mountains and descend into the plains of Etruria itself.

Always restless and unsettled, the Gauls looked upon any sort of labour as unworthy of a free man. They preferred therefore to wander on, rather than to labour at home. While the Roman valued beyond everything a piece of land, however small, which he could call his own, on which he could build a home where his name would live on after him; the Gaul cared very little for home, and liked his property in the form of gold or ornaments which he could carry about with him. They had few cities, and a very rude form of government. They preferred to sleep in the open or in the woods among their cattle, and the word of their general was the only law they cared for. Fighting was their joy in life, and braver fighters never lived. If there were no enemies to fight, they fought with one another. They had little skill in any art save the working of metals, in which they excelled even the Romans. Their

swords and bucklers were beautifully adorned with gold, and they wore rings round their necks and on their hands. They went forth to battle bareheaded, often naked, with strange shouts and terrible noises: after it was over they would give themselves up for days to feasting and drinking.

Clusium. The tribes who were threatening Italy at this moment were the Lingones and the Senones. In the year after the fall of Veii they crossed the Apennines under their king Brennus, near Florence, and poured down through the fertile valleys to the town of Clusium in the heart of Etruria itself. Clusium stood on a hill overgrown with olives at the head of the valley—barring the way. The town was strongly walled, and the Gauls not used to sieges. For a time the inhabitants could defend themselves: they called on Rome to help them. But fate, says Livy, willed that the Romans should hurry to their own destruction. A voice had been heard in the Sacred Way, calling, 'Be prepared, the Gauls are at hand!' but since it had been heard only by a common man the senate paid no heed to the warning.

Camillus. Camillus, the best and wisest man in the State, had left it; he had been condemned to pay a heavy fine because it was said he had not dealt fairly with the spoil of Veii. At the time of the charge he was mourning the death of a beloved son, and scorned to defend himself. The fine was heavier than he could pay, and rather than borrow from his friends he left the city with bitterness in his heart.

Thus, when the cry for help came from Clusium, Camillus was not there, and there were none in the senate wise enough to see the need of sending an army at once.

Instead of an army ambassadors were sent, three of the great family of Fabii. The Gauls received them with due honour, but when they asked what injury had Clusium done the Gauls that they should attack it, Brennus smiled as he answered, 'How did the people of Alba and Fidenae and Veii injure the Romans? The people of Clusium have more ground than they need, and we want some of it. Might is right: everything belongs to brave men. Rome and the Gauls follow alike the ancient law of the sword.' This answer showed the Fabii that their mission was of no use, as they might have foreseen. But instead of returning to Rome straightway, they forgot their sacred character as ambassadors and took part with the people of Clusium in a battle with the Gauls. One of them slew a Gallic chief. Thereupon Brennus put an end to the battle, and sent a herald to Rome to demand that the three envoys should be given up to him for punishment.

By all the rights of war they should have been given up, and so the priests declared. But the senate had not yet been foolish enough. The Fabii were actually chosen among the magistrates for the next year. This was an act of mad defiance of the Gauls, and punishment followed swiftly upon it. 390.

Brennus waited three days. Then the news came from Rome. At once the camp before Clusium was broken up, and the vast host of nearly 170,000 men poured down the valley of the Tiber, harrying and plundering as they marched. They did not delay to attack the towns in which the frightened country people had taken refuge, but swept on, crying as they came, 'to Rome! to Rome!'

The Romans did not in the least understand the danger they were in. Not until the Gauls were within eleven miles of the city did an army go forth to meet them.

Even then no dictator was appointed, no special levies had been called out, and the camp had not been properly fortified.

Battle of
the Allia.
July, 390.

The armies met where the little river Allia, flowing from the base of the Crustumnerian Hills, joins the Tiber. The Roman left wing rested on the Tiber. Since the army of the enemy was very much larger than their own, they tried to strengthen the right wing by placing a body of reserves on a small hill behind. But Brennus made his men charge with full force against the right, and the barbarians rushed on them so furiously, singing and shouting and swinging their long swords, that the hill was carried: from it the Gauls swept down with irresistible weight and drove the Roman left into the river. The defeat became a rout. The Romans fled in panic, and more lives were lost in the river than in the battle itself. They were on the wrong side of the Tiber now, and took refuge in the ruins of Veii. The right wing meantime had fled to Rome. There they rushed through the streets without waiting to bar the gates and established themselves on the Capitol.

The day of this battle was ever afterwards considered unlucky.

It was a day of shame. The Gauls could hardly believe in their victory, and did not at once pursue. Had they done so Rome must have been completely destroyed, but instead they gave themselves up for three days to the enjoyment of the food and wine that they found in the abandoned camp. In these three days the Romans had time to prepare for defence. All the men capable of bearing arms fortified the Capitol, and stocked it with provisions. Standing high on a sheer rock, on three sides it was almost impregnable.

The women, children, and old men took refuge in the

neighbouring towns. The vestal virgins carried away the sacred fire which Numa had ordered never to be put out, as it was the sign of the everlasting force that made and kept the world.

The senators alone would not desert the city. Like ^{The Gauls} captains of a sinking ship they kept their places in the ^{in Rome} silent deserted Forum. There the Gauls found them when they burst into the city with loud shouts of triumph and wild songs. When they came upon the old men seated in their white robes on chairs of ivory, they stared in amazement. They thought they must be beings of another world as they sat there motionless. At last one of them stretched out his hand and stroked the long beard of Manius Papirius. The senator struck at him with his staff. Then the Gauls fell on them and killed them all, and all others they found in the city. When those in the Capitol refused to surrender they ravaged the city with fire and sword, pillaged the houses, and then burned them. Then they blockaded the Capitol.

But in the sultry autumn months Rome was hot and unhealthy. The unwholesome damp mists tried the northerners. After the first month food was not easy to get. They had ravaged the country round, and the farmers had fled with their flocks and cattle. They plundered as far as Ardea; but in Ardea was Camillus, ^{Ardea.} who, hearing of the sack of Rome, was busy gathering an army. Messengers too came to him from Veii.

Camillus had been banished from Rome, and he now said he could not lead an army unless the government in Rome ordered him to do so.

To get this order a gallant young man named Pontius Cominius swam across the Tiber, escaping the Gallic sentinels in the darkness of night, and clambered up the steepest side of the crag, so steep that it was left

unguarded by the besiegers. He carried back to Camillus the news that he had been made dictator.

Meantime the Gauls discovered the traces of Cominius's feet on the rocky crag. What one man had done, they thought, others could do. Therefore in the silence of the next night a party of the bravest of them scrambled up by the same way that Cominius had done. They reached the summit in safety and found the guards asleep. But as they began to clamber in they were disturbed by a sudden cackling noise. Though the sentinels slept the geese sacred to Juno were awake—from hunger, since food was running short—and their cries awakened the sleeping guards and saved the citadel. Marcus Manlius, the captain, came running out at the head of his men and soon threw the Gauls down the cliff. The sentinel who had been asleep was thrown down after them.

End of the
siege.

At the end of six months both Romans and Gauls were suffering dreadfully from famine, and many of the Gauls had sickened of the pestilence. The Capitol still held out.

At last the Gauls agreed to leave the city and its territories on being paid a thousand pounds' weight of gold. They had had news that the Veneti, another tribe, were attacking the lands they had already conquered on the eastern coast. They were weary of the long siege that seemed likely never to end; and they knew, though the beleaguered garrison did not, that the army of Camillus was growing daily.

When the payment was being made, the Roman leader complained that the Gauls had weighted the scale. But Brennus with a scornful laugh flung his sword with his heavy scabbard and belt into the scale, crying, 'Woe to the vanquished!'—words unspeakably bitter to Roman ears.

Afterwards the Romans told that whilst the gold was

still being paid out the news came that Camillus and his army were at the gate. Camillus himself entered the Forum and bade the Gauls begone. It was the custom of the Romans, he said, to deliver their country with steel, and not with gold. The Gauls retreated with their booty: outside the gates they were defeated and dispersed by Camillus's army, and the dictator entered the city in triumph. His chariot was followed by all those who had left Rome before the siege began, the women, children, old men, and priests.

The Gauls were gone. But they had left the city in ruins. Camillus's first task was to purify it with due Camillus. religious rites. On the spot where the mysterious voice of warning had been heard he caused a temple to be built. Then the great work of rebuilding began. The houses had been burnt, and the temples and public buildings so utterly destroyed that it was not easy to discover even where they had formerly stood. Only heaps of cinders and charred stones were left. At first some of the tribunes proposed to remove to Veii. But Camillus persuaded his countrymen that it would be folly to leave the place where their whole history had been made, and where the spirits of their gods and of their great dead could speak to them and encourage them. Inspired by his words the citizens set about the work with energy. The houses soon rose again. Since they were built in a hurry many of the new streets were irregular and narrow, so narrow that somewhat later a law was made which forbade any carts to pass in certain streets except at night

The news of the sack of Rome had travelled all over Italy, and even reached the Greeks. The Gauls had come to plunder, not to settle, and they had returned to their distant villages. But Rome's enemies in Italy

had raised their heads again. Nevertheless, something had been gained. In the face of a common danger all the Latin towns had fought together, and looked to Rome as their head: even Clusium, an Etruscan town, had called on Rome for help. And Rome herself learned something from the days of shame.

Camillus was still at hand to lead her armies, and he was one of the first generals Rome ever had. Unlike Coriolanus, he did not allow the ingratitude that some of his countrymen had once shown him to make him forget his duty to his country as a whole. Through and through Camillus was a just man—just to others and to himself. The plebeians felt that even though they disliked his harsh speeches, and for the last years of his life he was the most powerful man in Rome. It was to him the people turned to lead them when the Etruscans tried to win back the lands they had lost in Southern Etruria, counting on the weakness of Rome after the siege. They seized Sutrium, and were preparing to do more when Camillus appeared at the head of an army. The Etruscans met with one defeat after another at his hands, and in a very few years the whole of South Etruria was Roman again. The districts of Veii, Capena, and Falerii were made into Roman tribes; Sutrium first and then Nepete

383. was fortified and garrisoned to guard the northern frontier. Roman colonists settled in farms among the fertile plains, and the district was quickly Romanized.

Not till fifty years later did a rebellion take place. Then Tarquinii, Falerii, and Caere revolted; and when the consul Fabius was defeated by the people of Tarquinii, three hundred Roman prisoners were slaughtered in the town. Punishment was prompt. Next year an Etruscan army was utterly crushed near the salt mines at the mouth of the Tiber, and Rutilius, the first plebeian

dictator, brought 8,000 prisoners to Rome in his triumph. Five hundred of them, being men from Tarquinii, were put to death in the Forum. The people of Caere who Caere. had been made Roman citizens were punished by losing both their rights and their land.

It was not only the Etruscans who made war on Rome after the siege: at the same time her lands were invaded by the armies of her old enemies the Aequi and the Volsci; and for many years afterwards Camillus led one campaign after another against them. The Latin cities had seen the growth of Rome with much uneasiness. At present the thirty towns that made up the Latin League had equal rights, in name at least. They could marry, trade, and hold property in each other's towns, and move as they chose from one to the other. The Roman army was the army of the league; the commander was nearly always a Roman, but the other towns sent bodies of troops. As the Latins saw the Romans triumphing over the Volsci and the Aequi they became afraid for themselves. They joined the Hernici 385. in attacking and burning the new Roman colony at Satricum. Lanuvium, Circeii, Velitrae, Praeneste, even Tusculum rebelled and broke away from the league.

Camillus, however, defeated the Latins in a series of small battles so completely that all the cities that had left the league were compelled to join it again. Their 376. feelings were very bitter, but they dared not express them, for they saw that Rome was beginning to be not only the head but the mistress of the Latin League. In less than twenty years after the Gauls had gone she had, under Camillus, won back nearly all that had been lost for the moment.

CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF THE PLEBEIANS

State of
the poor.

CONSTANT wars were making Rome slowly, but surely, the strongest power in Italy; but at home they kept the poorer citizens in a state that was often wretched enough. To them the destruction of the city had meant the loss of their homes and of all that they possessed in the world; and it took them long to recover. The country too had for many miles round been so ravaged and harried that for years the farmers were in dire straits and food was very dear. The war-tax was a heavy burden, and it was not always easy for the man who spent the summers away with the army to find work when he came home in the winter. The inhabitants of Veii and Fidenae had been sold into slavery, and some of the richer men at Rome began to find it cheaper and more convenient to buy slaves as cooks, servants, and gardeners than to pay wages to a man who might be called away at any time to the wars. The question of debt too remained.

Among the best of the patricians a few were beginning to think that it was time that there should be a change from the old order of things that gave to one class in the State all the advantages.

Manlius.

Marcus Manlius was one of these. His bravery during the siege of the Capitol had made him a hero among the common people. Twice had he won the mural crown, given to the man who was the first to scale the enemy's wall; eight times had he received the civic crown, the reward to him who saved the life of a citizen. One day

Manlius saw a man, whom he had known as a brave captain, led off to the debtors' prison. He heard that unless the soldier paid his debt within ten days, which he could not do while in prison, he would be sold as a slave. Manlius stepped forward and paid the sum himself. He sold all his own property, and declared that, so long as he owned an inch of land, such injustice should be prevented: he did not see how little one man could do to stop so great an evil as the poverty of the very poor. A band of followers soon gathered about him, and Manlius, who was a soldier but no statesman, held meetings of excited men whom he urged not to obey unjust laws. The senate was alarmed. Two of the tribunes accused Manlius of treachery to the State, and said he aimed at kingship. His trial took place in the Forum. When Manlius pointed to the Capitol, and reminded the people of the fights there in which he had played a heroic part, they forgot everything else. A tumult arose, and he was carried off by the crowd. The meetings went on as before. Next year Manlius was brought up again for trial, condemned, and thrown from the Tarpeian rock as a traitor. No one of the family of Manlius was ever again to bear the name 'Marcus'.

Shortly after this, when soldiers were being enlisted for the Volscian war, men refused to give in their names until the senate agreed that a man who served in the army in any year need not pay the war-tax for that year. 378.

Though Manlius had fallen the discontent did not cease. The richer plebeians began to feel that they too had wrongs. Many of them belonged to families that had now lived in Rome nearly as long as the patricians had. They were as well educated as the patricians, they

The rich
plebeian

lived in the same way, some few of them even sat in the senate. But when it came to holding any office in the State, none but the tribuneship was open to them. A young plebeian might show the most brilliant ability and feel the keenest wish to use it in the service of his country. His way was barred. The careers which seemed to every good Roman the highest were closed to him because of his birth. He could not command in the army, he could not rise to high office in the State. Only patricians could be consuls. The consul led the army to battle, the consul was head of the State in peace. Justice, order, finance, and religion were in his hands. The priesthood was closed to plebeians. They could make money—but that was not enough. Merely to own much money gave little honour in Rome at that day. The richer plebeians saw that the patricians would not help them, and this it was that made the whole plebeian order join together to help themselves. The poor plebeians wanted new land-laws most of all: to gain their support in the struggle for the consulship the rich plebeians were willing to try to obtain better land-laws.

The consulship.

Licinian-Sextian laws.
376.

Thus the two tribunes, Caius Licinius and Lucius Sextius, proposed: first, that one consul should always be a plebeian; second, that no one man should hold more than 500 acres of common land; third, that the laws of debt should be reformed. Further, that all landowners should employ as many free labourers as slaves. The first two clauses were the really important ones in the bill, and against them the senate fought with might and main for ten years. For five years after the year in which the bill was first brought forward in vain, Sextius and Licinius were chosen as tribunes; and every year they brought in their bill. Again and again

it was thrown out by the senate. Affairs were at a deadlock, for the tribunes put their veto on every other law that was brought in.

Ten years passed. Licinius and Sextius were again elected, and once more brought up their bill.

Suddenly the news came that the Gauls were on the march with an immense army. Camillus, now a very old man, at once took the command and collected an army. For the fifth time he was made dictator. He armed his soldiers with heavy helmets to resist the mighty swords used by the Gauls, and strengthened their leathern shields with a rim of brass. In the plain of Alba the armies met, and Camillus gained a great victory. The camp of the Gauls was broken up and destroyed : they fled south in scattered bands.

Camillus, returning in triumph, found the people still struggling over the question of whether the consulship should be open to plebeians. At this moment the old general showed himself once more the wise friend of his country. He was a stern patrician ; but he pointed out to the senate that the time had come to give the plebeians a share in the government. It would be for the best interests of the State, for now many good men were kept out. Amid great rejoicing the laws were passed. Licinius was the first plebeian consul. No one was to hold more than 500 acres of common land.

Camillus's last act was to lay the foundation stone of a temple to Concord near the Forum as a happy sign of the union of the orders. Another day was added to the Latin Festival, and the whole people made sacrifice at the new temple with garlands on their heads. In the following year a pestilence raged in Rome, and among those who perished was the aged general. Great in peace as in war, Camillus never showed himself in any

The Gaul
367.

The law
passed.
367.

action unworthy of his fame: his greatness was as useful to his country as to himself.

Devotion
of Curtius.

Soon after this, as the story goes, a yawning gulf opened in the midst of the Forum. Although the citizens worked hard they could not fill it up. Then the priests declared that the gods would not close the gulf until there was thrown into it the most precious thing that Rome possessed, and then the Republic would be sure of eternal life. For some time no one knew what this meant. At length Marcus Curtius, a young man who had won great honour in war, came forward and said he was surprised that any one doubted that the most precious possessions of Rome were brave men. Mounted on a horse magnificently caparisoned, and clad in the full panoply of war, he then leapt into the gulf, which instantly closed upon him.

361. Four years after the death of Camillus the Gauls came again and encamped on the river Anio. On either side of the bridge the armies were drawn up, facing one another. Then a single Gaul, huge and very tall, his splendid armour blazing with gold, stepped on to the bridge and bawled: 'I will fight the bravest of the Romans, to prove that my nation is stronger in

Torquatus. war than his.' Titus, a descendant of Marcus Manlius, begged his commander to be allowed to prove that he was of the family that had thrown the Gauls headlong from the Tarpeian rock. The huge Gaul towered above his adversary; but in the end the skill and agility of the Roman won the day. Manlius took from the Gaul the golden necklace, called 'torques', that he wore, and was afterwards known by the name Torquatus. The Gauls were defeated. In the next year they came again, and advanced as far as the Colline Gate. After a great battle, in which they were repulsed, they retreated as far

as Tibur, where for a year they remained, until Sulpicius came out and conquered them.

For ten years there was peace from the Gauls. Then once more they came down upon Latium. Lucius, the son of Camillus, was sent against them, and in the battle in which he defeated them, Marcus Valerius, one of his captains, was helped by a great crow, which perched on his helmet, and scratched and clawed the faces of his opponents.

Valerius
Corvinus.
349.

After these victories the old dread of the Gauls died away. There had been something awful in their first tremendous onslaught, when they were unknown and terrifying; but now they were feared no more.

For the history of their people and city up to this time, later Roman writers had to trust greatly to legends. Thus many of the stories told of these early days cannot be thought of as quite historical. In nearly every case something of the kind did happen, but the story of it grew in the telling as it was handed down from father to son, and wonderful circumstances were added, to give glory to some particular family or to the city. But after the times of Camillus real history begins. Monuments and records belonging to the time have come down to us; and soon the earliest Roman writers whose works we know began to set down the events that happened within their own memory.

For a few years there was peace. Etruria was subdued. The Gauls had been beaten back. The Latin League was quiet, perforce. The Volsci and the Hernici had been crushed by Camillus. Within the city the passing of the Licinian laws had brought quiet for a time. The temple of Janus might be closed.

Then, says Livy, a great war began, greater than any that had yet been fought, in the time that it lasted,

The First
Samnite
War.

its distance from Rome, and the warlike and dogged character of the enemy. This was the war against the Samnites, which lasted altogether from 343 to 290, with two intervals of peace.

The conquest of the Volsci had made the river Liris the boundary between Romans and Samnites, and in 354 the two most powerful peoples in Italy had made a bond of friendship—which could not last, and did not.

The
Samnites.

The Samnites had for centuries held the central mountain passes between Apulia and the plains of Campania. Greek settlers had kept them out of Apulia, Etruscans out of Campania. As the Etruscan power began to fail, however, the Samnites swarmed down from their bleak mountain passes to the rich plains and deliciously soft air of the coast. They settled in Capua and Cumae; and when Dionysius of Syracuse defeated the Greek fleet they pressed on into Apulia and Lucania, destroying many of the settlements. Two only remained strong and independent—Tarentum in Calabria and Neapolis in Campania. By now practically all Southern Italy was under Samnite rule, and that rule stretched over a much greater extent of land than the Latin peoples owned. But while the Roman conquests were strongly and firmly held, the Samnites had not secured any of the wide tract over which they ruled in name. Their government was weak, there was no central power. The mountain dwellers in Samnium proper, the people of Campania, the Lucanians, Bruttii, and Apulians, were held together by the loosest ties; and between the dwellers in the mountains and those in the plain there was a deep difference. Those in the plains had fallen under the spell of the Greek way of life.

Cupua.

Capua was at this time the second city in Italy in size,

but in luxury and elegance of life by far the first. In comparison with the expensive refinement of its houses, streets, shops, and theatres, Rome seemed a mere village. Gladiatorial shows, then unknown in Italy, were the favourite pastime at Capua, and huge sums were spent on banquets, musicians, and dancers. While the Romans all wore the simple toga of white wool, the young Capuan nobles decked themselves out in richly dyed and embroidered stuffs, their fingers sparkled with jewels, and their daggers were ornamented with gold.

In 343 the Samnites attacked Teanum Sidicinum, 343.
a town on the Campanian side of the Liris belonging to an independent tribe. The people of Teanum asked the Capuans for help. Thereupon the Samnites seized the heights above Capua and threatened the town. Capua appealed to Rome.

Rome had the year before captured Sora on the Liris, close to Teanum. When the Capuan envoys offered to hand Campania over to the protection of Rome, the senate felt the opportunity was too good to lose, in spite of their bond with the Samnites. Ambassadors were sent from Rome to command the Samnite forces to withdraw from Capua.

This was war. The Roman armies defeated the Samnites in three engagements in Campania: then peace was concluded, for both Rome and Samnium had other enemies to deal with. Capua was handed over to Rome, Teanum to the Samnites. The latter then turned to help the Lucanians against the people of Tarentum; the Romans found that the Latins had risen. Their long-smouldering irritation had burst into flame when they saw Rome's power spreading south. With the single exception of Laurentum all the towns of the League, even Tusculum, rose against Rome, and,

First
Samnite
War.

Latin
rising.

though the other colonies remained faithful, Velitrae joined the rebels.

Capua
revolts.

At the same time the people of Capua seized the chance of breaking their newly made promises. The patrician party in the town were overthrown when they tried to keep faith; and Capua joined the rebellion. The Volsci saw a last chance of freedom, and took up their arms.

Veseris.

The Roman legions which had crossed the Liris into Campania were cut off from home by the revolted Latins and Volsci. Only a victory could save them. At Vesis, near Mount Vesuvius, the battle took place. Manlius Torquatus and Publius Decius were the consuls, and they dreamed the same dream. A man of more than human size and splendour appeared, and said that in the battle one side should lose its leader, the other its army.

Devotion
of P.
Decius.

When the day came, Decius the plebeian rode straight into the enemy's ranks, thus devoting himself to the gods of Death. After this the Roman army gained a great victory. Shortly afterwards Torquatus again defeated the combined Latin and Campanian forces at

Trifanum.

Trifanum. The danger was over.

During the next two years the Latin and Volscian towns that still held out were taken one after another, and the whole district brought under the Roman power. Garrisons were put in the towns that had revolted.

338.

The result of the war was that the Latin League was at an end. That which the towns had risen to prevent had come about—Rome was mistress, not leader, of Latium. The towns lost their rights to share in the command or the booty in war. All connexions between them were cut off. The citizens of each town might trade with Rome, marry Romans, hold property in

Rome; but they had nothing to do with one another from this day forth. None of them had votes in Rome: each town governed itself under the eye of the Roman government.

Roman citizens were given farms in Latium; and two colonies, Cales and Fregellae, placed on the border. Sora was garrisoned.

The Samnites were busy in the south. They allowed Rome to grow stronger than ever, to crush the Latins and settle herself in Campania, before they made their attack.

CHAPTER VII

SAMNITE WARS

THE Samnites knew that the war was not finished. They were a people of dauntless courage, passionately devoted to their own land and their own nationality.

As they watched Rome growing stronger they only grew more determined to stand out against her to the last: to try to the last to induce the other Italian peoples to join with them and fight for freedom. Their weakness lay in the fact that the Italians of the extreme south hated the Greek settlements there and could not be persuaded to join with them.

The Greek settlements with Tarentum at their head were bound to the Samnites, but they were lazy and quarrelled among themselves; while the people of Lucania and Apulia would generally prefer to fight against them and against the Samnites if they dared.

On the other hand, the Samnites believed that if they could gain one victory over Rome, the Etruscans would join them and the Latins rebel again. They knew the first and most difficult step must be taken by themselves unaided.

For a few years they were busy arming and preparing. Meantime Rome, too, was strengthening herself.

327. In Campania the Greek cities of Neapolis and Palaeopolis had not yet submitted to Rome. It came to the ears of the Samnites that an attack on them had been planned: they at once sent a garrison to Palaepolis.

326. Thereupon the Romans declared war and laid siege to

the town. Within there was a party anxious to get rid of the Samnite garrison: and when the Romans offered favourable terms, this party gained the upper hand and Palaepolis submitted. It was followed by other towns that had begun by joining the Samnites—Nola, Nuceria, Herculanæum, and Pompeii; and about the same time the Lucanians allied themselves with Rome. Their help was valuable, as they kept the Tarentines too busy to do anything for Samnium.

When the Roman armies entered the enemy's country the Samnites stood alone. As far as Apulia the Romans carried all before them, plundering and ravaging as they went. In Apulia the inhabitants welcomed them with open arms. 325.

At this the spirit of the Samnites failed. It seemed useless to resist. the peace party clamoured against a hopeless struggle. They sent the Roman prisoners back, and with them the body of Papius, the leader of the war party, who had been put to death, and humbly begged for terms. But the Romans had been indignant at their renewing the war and meant to crush them. The ambassadors were sent back.

Then the courage of despair came back to the Samnites. They armed for a desperate struggle. A new general, Gaius Pontius, was appointed, and the army took the field, ready for the worst that might come.

The Roman forces, under the two consuls, Spurius Postumius and Titus Veturius, were encamped at Calatia when the false news was brought by Samnite prisoners that the whole of the enemy's army was before Luceria and that the town was hard pressed. 321.

The camp was broken up at once. To reach Luceria in time there was only one way, to march through the heart of the enemy's country. Believing it undefended,

Caudine
Pass
321.

the consuls took the road which ran across marshy ground, and was surrounded by a line of lofty and precipitous hills covered with forest. The hills were broken only at the entrance and exit of the Caudine Pass. The Roman army entered the Pass without any sign of the enemy, but when they came to the opening at the other end they found it closed. Great trees had been cut down and a stockade built that was almost impassable. Beyond the stockade gleamed the spears of the foe. The Romans retreated, but now the way by which they had come in was closed in the same manner: and all around on the slopes of the hills were the enemy. There was no escape. Too late the generals saw the trap in which they had been caught: the Samnites were not before Luceria, but in the Caudine Pass.

To fight was useless: the army would have been cut to pieces as it stood, and then the road to Rome free to the enemy. Had the Samnite general Pontius chosen to make them prisoners, then, too, the way to Rome would have stood clear. But he made a mistake. He chose rather to compel the Roman generals to swear to the terms of a peace which it was not really in their power to make, and which they would not keep. The terms were that the Romans should withdraw from the Samnite territory, dismantle the forts on the frontier, and make an alliance on the old footing. Six hundred men were left as hostages, and then the army was let free, but not until they had all passed unarmed under the yoke.

At night they returned to Rome, ashamed before the eyes of their countrymen.

The senate at once declared that the terms were not binding—the generals themselves urged them to do so, and offered to go back to the Samnites and suffer death at their hands. The senate could not give up all

that had been gained in years of war because the generals had taken an oath they had no real power to keep.

The Samnites generously refused to keep the hostages : the war went on with greater bitterness than ever.

Gaius Pontius took Luceria and Fregellae before the Romans were in the field again ; but when Papirius came up with his army Luceria was recaptured and the Samnite garrison passed under the yoke.

The Samnites fought bravely and gained several small successes in Campania ; but in the next year they were driven back into their own mountains, while the Romans stationed new garrisons in Campania and Apulia to keep what they had won. 316.

Appius Claudius the censor began the great military road, the Via Appia, which ran from Rome along the coast, through the Pomptine marshes, past Capua, through the Caudine Pass, and down into Apulia. The Roman net was being drawn closer round the unhappy Samnites. For fifteen years they had fought alone : it was time for some of the other Italians to help them if they were not to be crushed. The Tarentines talked but did nothing ; but at last in 311 the Etruscans suddenly broke the truce that had been made forty years before, and attacked the border fortress of Sutrium. In a series of sharp fights the Etruscans held their own until the command of the Roman army was taken by one of the great Fabian family—Quintus Fabius Rullianus. He soon crushed the rising in Southern Etruria, and then, flushed with success, pushed on recklessly into a part where no Roman army had been before. He marched through the Ciminian forests and plundered lands hitherto untouched by war. Etruria rose in arms behind him, and the senate was filled with alarm till the news came that at the Vadimonian 310 Battle of the Vadi-

monian
Lake.
309.

Lake Fabius had gained a great victory. The Etruscan towns gave in, and two years later Fabius gained another victory, after which they were glad to make a truce.

308. The Samnites, encouraged by the Etrurian rising, had beaten Marcus Rutilus; but the next year Papirius defeated the flower of their army; and Nuceria, attacked by land and sea, was taken by the Romans—the last stronghold of the Samnites in Campania.

Risings of
Paeligni.
Marsi, 307.
Hernici,
306.

Though the Paeligni and the Marsi rose to join the Samnites, they were speedily crushed, and when Anagnia, a town belonging to the Hernici, revolted, it was retaken at once.

End of
Second
Samnite
War, 304.

305. In 305 two Roman armies entered Samnium, one through the mountain passes, the other from the Adriatic, and joined before the capital, Bovianum. It was the last great struggle. The Samnite army was defeated, their general slain, and the town taken by storm. The Samnites had to sue for peace.

The Samnite power that had seemed so great was gone. Rome left the Samnites their independence, but they were shut up within their own territory. Campania was lost for ever. It was to Rome now and not to Samnium that the peoples of the south looked to settle their quarrels and give them help in time of need. Luceria commanded the way into Apulia; Nuceria guarded the road into Lucania, and they were Roman garrison towns.

Rome secured her conquests. Campania was guarded by colonies and fortresses and connected with Rome by the great Appian Way. The conquered were not treated harshly. The important point was to secure what had been won.

Colonies, The six years that followed the peace with Samnium were spent in settling the Volscian territory. New colonies

were planted. And these colonies were forts. Half the original inhabitants of the conquered town were turned out to make room for Roman citizens. These citizens were given allotments of the conquered land on which to support their wives and children. The government of the colony was on the Roman plan: it was as if in the centre of a foreign district a little Rome had been planted. The colonists were Roman citizens and could vote if they went to Rome; but in their own town they elected their own magistrates and officers, levied their own army and taxes. Each colony was a fortress to defend the interest of Rome in the country round. A chain of such colonies was being placed on the Samnite border.

The Samnites felt that there was no safety for them in peace. Peace only gave the Romans time to close in upon them. Rumours came from the north that the Gauls were once more upon the move.

Now, while the Etruscans and the people of Central Italy were still smarting from their defeats, now or never the Samnites felt was the time to fight for their freedom before it was too late. In the earlier wars the alliance of the Lucanians had been of great use to Rome. The Samnites attacked and defeated the Lucanians and compelled them to make an alliance with themselves.

This meant war. The Samnites warned the Roman ambassadors who came to complain, that they could not answer for their safety.

Third
Samnite
War,
298-290.

Two Roman armies took the field: one defended Etruria, the other marched against Samnium. Bovianum was captured, and in the next year Fabius Rullianus and P. Decius Mus defeated the Samnites and began to attack their strongholds one after another.

But the courage of the Samnites rose as things seemed

Gellius
Egnatius.

darkest. Gellius Egnatius, their commander-in-chief, was a soldier of splendid courage and a general of real ability ; equal to Fabius in dash, but more far-sighted. His plan was to throw a Samnite army into northern Etruria, and, rousing the Gauls, attack Rome from the north with their help. In 296 three Samnite armies were equipped by a marvellous effort, and the best of them, led by Egnatius himself, escaped the Roman scouts and was well on the way to Umbria before the Roman generals could stop it. The plan was brilliant and brilliantly carried out. It failed because the Etrurians had had enough of war against Rome, and there was no general rising. Gauls flocked to Egnatius's camp, but very few Etruscans.

In Rome the alarm was great. Business was stopped, and those too young or too old to serve in ordinary times were enlisted. Appius Claudius, who had been sent against the Gauls, was defeated. But good news came from Samnium. Volumnius the consul had crushed a rising in Lucania, defeated the Samnites ravaging in Campania, and carried off many prisoners and much spoil.

But Egnatius remained in Umbria, encamped near Sentinum, and his army grew as the Gauls poured down from the north. Scipio, a Roman lieutenant, was utterly defeated by them near Clusium.

Fabius, named now Maximus, in honour of many victories, was consul for the fifth time, and he asked that Publius Decius Mus should again share the office with him : Fabius was the head of the proudest patrician family in the State, Decius a plebeian.

295 The two consuls marched with their armies to Clusium and began to ravage far and wide until they came to Sentinum.

The battle that took place that day was one of the most famous in Roman history. Before it began, it was said that a stag ran across the space between the armies with a wolf behind it. A Gaul brought the stag down with a javelin, but the Romans opened their lines to let the wolf pass through, for they remembered the wolf that had fed Romulus. Diana, the goddess of the chase, was wroth with the Gauls, they said, for slaying her stag: but Mars, the war god and father of Romulus, was pleased with the Romans.

Battle of
Sentinum.

The battle lasted a long time and the fight was very hard. The charge of the Gauls was terrific. They swept upon the foe like a whirlwind, and the sound of their shouting could be heard many miles off. On the left wing, where Decius faced them, the day seemed to be going against the Romans. He remembered how his father had won victory for his country by giving up his own life. Thereupon he spurred his horse into the very centre of the enemy's lines, crying to the gods to take his life and give the Romans victory. The deed fired them with fresh courage. Fabius brought up the men he had in reserve, and before the double charge the hard-pressed Samnites gave way. Egnatius was slain. The Romans pursued the fleeing Samnites a little way and then turned to attack the Gauls in the rear. Attacked in front and behind they fought desperately but in vain. The Samnite army was annihilated. 9,000 Romans lay dead upon the field: but the victory was worth the price. The Gauls retreated. Umbria was in Roman hands. The Etruscan towns begged for peace. The remains of the Samnite army retired across the Abuzzi. After Sentinum there was no more chance of invading Rome.

Devotion
of P.
Decius
Mus

In their own country the Samnites fought heroically.

Aqui-
loneia.

In the year after Sentinum the Romans met with the old stubborn resistance everywhere. Campania was ravaged by the Samnites. In the next year, however, Lucius Papirius, son of the general who had done such good service in the earlier war, won a great victory. The picked men of the Samnites were entrenched at Aquiloneia, and 16,000 of them swore to die rather than yield. Yet they fled before the Roman cavalry. Papirius took the camp at Aquiloneia; and, on the same day, his fellow consul carried another stronghold only twenty miles away. But still the Samnites would not ask for peace. Next year Fabius defeated Gaius Pontius, the old enemy of Rome. For two years more the war dragged on. The last battle was fought and gained by Manius Curius Dentatus. The Samnite envoys came to his farm and found him cooking his own turnips. When they tried to bribe him with gold into giving them favourable terms, he replied with scorn that to have gold was worthless, to rule those who had it the desire of the strong man.

In 290 the long struggle came to an end. Rome respected a brave enemy, and though the Samnites lost all but Samnium, in their own land they were left free. They had failed in the great attempt to check the power of Rome. Rome was stronger than ever: mistress of Italy in all but the name: going forward in her great task of making Italy one country and the Italians one people. In the long wars the government had been mainly in the hands of the senate; and the senate had governed wisely and well, thinking always of the glory and honour of the Roman name, which demanded justice to enemies and fair dealing to friend and foe alike.

CHAPTER VIII

PYRRHUS, KING OF EPIRUS

IN later days the Romans used to be fond of asking : 'If Alexander the Great had not died of fever at Babylon, when he was planning to invade the West, would he have conquered Rome?'

Only ten years after the Samnite Wars an invader came against Rome who was almost as dangerous as Alexander. This was the most brilliant soldier and general of his day, Pyrrhus, King of Epirus. War, he thought, was the only occupation worthy of a king. In the few years of his life that he did not spend in fighting he wrote a book on the art of war that was studied by most of the generals that came after him; and his encampments were the model of later times. His father had been slain and driven from his kingdom in Northern Greece when Pyrrhus was a child of five years old. The baby prince was rescued by a few faithful soldiers, who carried him across the rivers in the hollow of a shield, until they came to the court of the King of Illyria. Glaucias, the king, was sitting on his throne when they laid the child at his feet : the infant caught at his knees and clambered up. The king was so much touched that, although Pyrrhus's enemies offered a great ransom, wishing to kill the little king, Glaucias brought him up with his own children. At the age of twelve he became king in Epirus, only to be driven out again five years after. This time he took refuge with Ptolemy of Egypt.

Childhood
of Pyrrhus.

It was not till he was over thirty, after many changes of fortune, that he won back his throne. Then, like Alexander, he looked round for other worlds to conquer. Alexander had dreamed of an empire in the West; when the Greek cities of Southern Italy called to Pyrrhus to help them against Rome, he thought he might make the dream come true.

When the Samnite War ended the Lucanians thought their chance had come to make an end of the hated Greek settlements. They subdued many smaller towns and then laid siege to Thurii. The Thurians called on Rome. The Lucanians threw the Roman envoys into prison when they came to complain; they made an alliance with the Samnites and tried to stir up a new war against Rome.

The
Senones.

284.

The Gauls were always ready. The Senones joined a band of Etruscans, and swept down in hordes upon Arretium. The town closed its gates; but outside it they cut a Roman army under Caecilius to pieces. The general was slain, and nearly 13,000 soldiers perished with him. The Senones were Roman allies, but Britomaris, their king, received Roman ambassadors with insults. Soon all Umbria, Northern Etruria, and the Gallic regions were in arms. The Samnites had risen in the south, but they could not do much now.

While the Italians arranged plans of campaign the Romans were acting. Cornelius Dolabella entered the land of the Senones at the head of an army, and the unhappy people learned how dear was the cost of a victory over the Roman armies. They were wiped out. The Senones ceased to exist in Italy. The few who escaped the sword fled to join the Etruscans.

283.
Battle of
the Vadi-
monian
Lake (2).

Terrified by this misfortune the other Gauls submitted. The consul then turned and met the Etruscan army at the Vadimonian Lake, and destroyed it, with what was

left of the Gauls. The Gauls were the most dangerous enemy. They had been crushed. Gaius Fabricius, the other consul, marched to Thurii with a powerful force, defeated the Lucanians, and took their leader captive. Roman garrisons were placed in Thurii, Rhegium, and other Greek towns.

Tarentum was now the only free town of importance, ^{Tarentum.} and the Tarentines viewed the power of Rome in the south with alarm. The government of the town was miserable. The city was so rich that all the work was done by slaves, the fighting by paid foreign soldiers, while the citizens spent their time in games and feasting. All through the wars Tarentum had behaved weakly—talking much and doing nothing. Now, when a Roman fleet, sailing into the Adriatic with provisions for colonies there, dropped anchor in the harbour, the Tarentine mob suddenly attacked the ships. The Roman admiral was killed; five vessels were captured and their men executed or sold as slaves. Then the Tarentines attacked Thurii and captured it.

War was at once declared. The Tarentines were now terrified, though they could have expected no less; and in their terror they called upon Pyrrhus to save the Greeks in Italy from Rome. Tarentum would pay the cost of the war and supply soldiers.

Pyrrhus came. He sailed in the winter in spite of ^{Landing of} the storms. Many of his ships were blown out of their ^{Pyrrhus.} course by the winds and some were lost, but most of them reached Tarentum in safety. He had 20,000 foot-soldiers, Macedonians, the best in the world; 3,000 Thessalian horsemen; 2,000 archers and slingers, and 20 elephants. In Tarentum he found nothing in readiness. There was no army in the field and no preparations had been made. Pyrrhus at once took

everything in hand. The town was put under military discipline. The theatres, the covered walks, and the baths were closed. Epirot soldiers were stationed at the gates. Pyrrhus's army was quartered in the houses of the inhabitants. A war-tax was levied for an Italian army, and the Tarentines of military age were forced to join it. Some of the leading citizens were sent to Epirus as hostages for the king's safety.

Tarentum was now a stronghold and ready for war, but so far no other town had joined Pyrrhus.

Prepara-
tions in
Rome.

In Rome, meantime, preparations were made. The full number of soldiers had been called for from all the Italian allies and dependents; a war-tax had been levied and enlistments made. The colonies were strengthened and doubtful persons removed. One army remained to defend the city; another under Coruncanius marched to Volsinium; while the largest, led by the consul Laevinus, pressed on rapidly to attack Pyrrhus before he could begin to march north. Venusia was fortified, and Lucania and Samnium thus cut off from Pyrrhus. No allies had reached him so far.

280.
Battle of
Pandusia
(or Heraclea).

Pyrrhus was encamped on the Siris between Pandusia and Heraclea, and when he for the first time saw the Romans drawn up in battle array, he cried, 'These are no barbarians!'

The Roman cavalry crossed the river, and began the day with a furious charge. The king himself had his horse killed under him, and his men, thinking him dead, wavered and were driven back. But he put himself at the head of his infantry: seven times the legions and the Greeks met in the fierce shock of battle, and yet neither yielded. At last Laevinus thought the day was his, for an officer wearing Pyrrhus's cloak was killed, and again the report of his death discouraged his men.

Bareheaded, Pyrrhus shouted to them, and revived their courage with his own. At last he gave the order for the elephants to be driven against the Roman cavalry. The Romans had never seen elephants before, nor had their horses, and the terrified animals turned and fled; their riders could not control them, and the retreat became general. The main body escaped across the river.

The loss on both sides was very heavy. 2,000 Romans lay dead or wounded on the field, 2,000 were captured. At least 4,000 of Pyrrhus's men perished, and they were 'Pyrrhic' victory. Greeks, trained in many wars, whom he could not replace. 'Another such victory,' he said, 'and I am ruined.' As he walked on the field and saw the dead bodies of the Roman soldiers with all their wounds in front, he exclaimed, 'Had I been king of the Romans, I should have conquered the world.'

The victory was dearly bought: but for Pyrrhus it was worth much to win even such a victory. It must encourage the Italians to join him, teach the Romans to fear him, and make his position in the south secure. Laevinus had to retreat, and Lucania was lost. The armies of the Bruttii, Lucanians, and Samnites joined Pyrrhus. The Greek cities opened their gates to him. The Roman garrison in Rhegium mutinied and killed many of the Greek inhabitants; but the mutineers, who were Campanians, contented themselves with plundering the country round. Other Campanian soldiers in Messina in Sicily—called Mamertines or sons of Mars because of their fierceness—had also mutinied and taken the town for themselves. But among the Latins there was no movement in Pyrrhus's favour. They would not fight with a Greek invader against Rome. He offered his prisoners good pay to serve in his army, but not one would do so.

Appius
Claudius,

As the Romans were by no means ready to give in, the king sent his minister Cineas as ambassador to Rome. Cineas had been a pupil of the great orator Demosthenes, and he thought he would make a favourable peace. Before the senate he used all his craft and flattery: some of the senators were inclined to listen. But old Appius Claudius, the builder of the Appian Way, who was now very aged and entirely blind, was carried in by his sons and servants, and said: 'Hitherto I have regarded my blindness as a misfortune; but now, Romans, I wish I had been deaf as well as blind; for then I should not have heard these shameful counsels. Who is there that will not despise you and think you an easy conquest, if Pyrrhus not only escapes unpunished, but gains Tarentum as a reward for insulting the Romans?'

Stirred by his words the senators voted as one man to continue the war: Cineas was ordered to tell his master that Rome could not treat so long as there was an enemy on Italian soil. Cineas told Pyrrhus that the senate seemed to him an assembly of kings, and the people as numerous as the heads of the hydra of Lerna—which grew two new ones as soon as one was cut off.

When Pyrrhus heard this he marched for Rome at the head of his army. News came at once, and in the city people enlisted in hundreds. Laevinus followed the invaders, cut off the way to Capua, and prevented any communication with Naples. None of the Italian states joined Pyrrhus. He marched on, astonished by the richness of the country, as far as Fregellae; he took the town, and pressed on to Anagnia, and thence as far as Praeneste. Not one town opened its gates. Laevinus was in the rear; between him and Rome another army under Coruncanius; Rome itself guarded by another force.

Pyrrhus saw he could do nothing, and retreated to Tarentum for the winter.

During the winter Fabricius came from Rome to ^{Fabricius.} arrange an exchange of prisoners. The king little understood the sort of man with whom he had to deal, and tried to bribe Fabricius by rich presents to get the senate to accept his terms. When that had no effect, he attempted to frighten him. While they were conversing together, a curtain was drawn back, and a great elephant suddenly waved its trunk over Fabricius's head, with a horrid and frightful noise. Fabricius merely smiled.

Meantime, the Tarentines were grumbling at the burdens of the war. In the spring Pyrrhus moved into Apulia, hoping by a great battle to crush the Romans and revive his allies. At Asculum the armies ²⁷⁹ met. ^{Asculum.} Pyrrhus had with him this time the armies of the Samnites, Apulians, and Bruttians; and he arranged his lines so that they were divided among his Greeks. On the first day the Romans had the best of the fight, for the battle took place on the marshy and uneven banks of the stream, where there was no room for Pyrrhus to spread out his line or bring forward his cavalry and elephants. On the second day, however, he succeeded in moving out into the plain, and placed his elephants so that they took the Romans on the flank and turned them back on to their camp. The victory was with Pyrrhus; but he lost 3,500 men, the Romans nearly 6,000. The king himself was wounded in the arm, and though he had fought on regardless, he had to go back into winter quarters to have his wound attended to. Without him his army could do nothing.

Asculum was not the great victory he needed to bring the Italians to his side. They stood firm, and Rome was not shaken.

Pyrrhus's genius had won two battles ; but he had to contend against the force of a nation that would endure and wear him out in spite of many victories, and he knew it. The task of conquering Rome was bigger than he had thought. His new allies fought well, but they could not fill the places of the Greeks he had lost. Moreover, he grew wearied of the incessant complainings of the Tarentines.

At this moment the Greeks in Sicily called to him to help them against the Carthaginians, who were allied to Rome. Pyrrhus thought he might conquer Italy from Sicily, as the head of the united Greeks—forgetting that the Greeks could do anything save unite.

Agathocles, King of Syracuse, who had begun life as the son of a potter, had driven the Carthaginians to the extreme west of the island ; but since his death they had pressed farther and farther east, and now their ships were in the harbour of Syracuse. The Syracusans therefore called to Pyrrhus.

Sicily.
278.

In the summer of 278 Pyrrhus landed at Syracuse, quartered his soldiers in the disordered city, and treated it as a conquered town. Eastern Sicily was soon overrun ; and he had a large army, a fine fleet, and all the wealth of the island at his command. He took Eryx and Agrigentum ; but in Lilybaeum, an almost impregnable harbour, the Carthaginians were strongly entrenched, and to take it would be a long task of no common difficulty. If it were left in Carthaginian hands, they would reconquer Sicily as soon as Pyrrhus's back was turned, the more easily as there was already great discontent at the sternness of the king's rule. His rule was just, but the Greek cities had not bargained for an iron-handed tyrant. Pyrrhus spent a year before Lilybaeum without success, and then returned to Italy.

He had made a great mistake. To leave Sicily without taking Lilybaeum was to throw away all the time he had spent there. 276.

He found in Italy that the Romans had won back most of what had been lost in the south, and were busy in the conquest of Samnium. Among the mountains the campaign was a hard one, and the Samnites still had some hope when they called on Pyrrhus to help them.

He marched straight into Samnium, and compelled the consul Dentatus to fight him at Beneventum before the other consul could join him. Throughout a hard-fought day the Romans had the upper hand. In the end the elephants gave the victory to them. One of them, quite a young animal, was wounded. Maddened with the pain, it turned round and rushed back into its own ranks to find its mother. The others followed: the Greeks were thrown into confusion, and many of them trampled to death. The Romans drove them from the field and captured the camp; 1,300 prisoners were taken and four elephants—the first ever seen in Rome; and so much booty that it paid for the great aqueduct that brought the water of the Anio to Rome. 275. Beneven-tum.

Pyrrhus knew this was the end. He escaped to Tarentum with a few horsemen, and sent to the kings of Asia and Macedonia for reinforcements. They refused. In despair he sailed home to win back his own kingdom of Epirus. Two years later he was killed in a scuffle in Argos by a tile dropped on his head by a woman at a window. It was the end of a man brilliant and high-minded, but without the clear sight that makes real greatness.

With Pyrrhus gone the war was at an end. Tarentum was compelled to give up its arms and ships, to pull down

its walls, and pay war-taxes to Rome. Samnium lost its independence. A colony was placed in Beneventum. Another colony at Paestum controlled Lucania, one at Venusia guarded Apulia. Bruttium and Lucania shared the fate of Samnium. The Bruttian forests supplied Rome for years with timber to build ships and houses.

After a long siege Rhegium was taken, and the 300 left of the mutineers flogged and beheaded in the Forum—Roman discipline had to be preserved. It was the discipline and patriotism of the soldiers that had defeated Pyrrhus and raised Rome to the sole power in Italy. From north to south now there was no authority but hers. She had made Italy one and herself mistress of it.

But Pyrrhus had seen that the ambition of Rome would not stop there. On the sea she was powerless. Carthage did not allow her ships even in the Tyrrhenian. Pyrrhus saw further into the future than he knew, when he cried, as he left Sicily behind him, 'What a fighting-ground for Romans and Carthaginians am I leaving!'

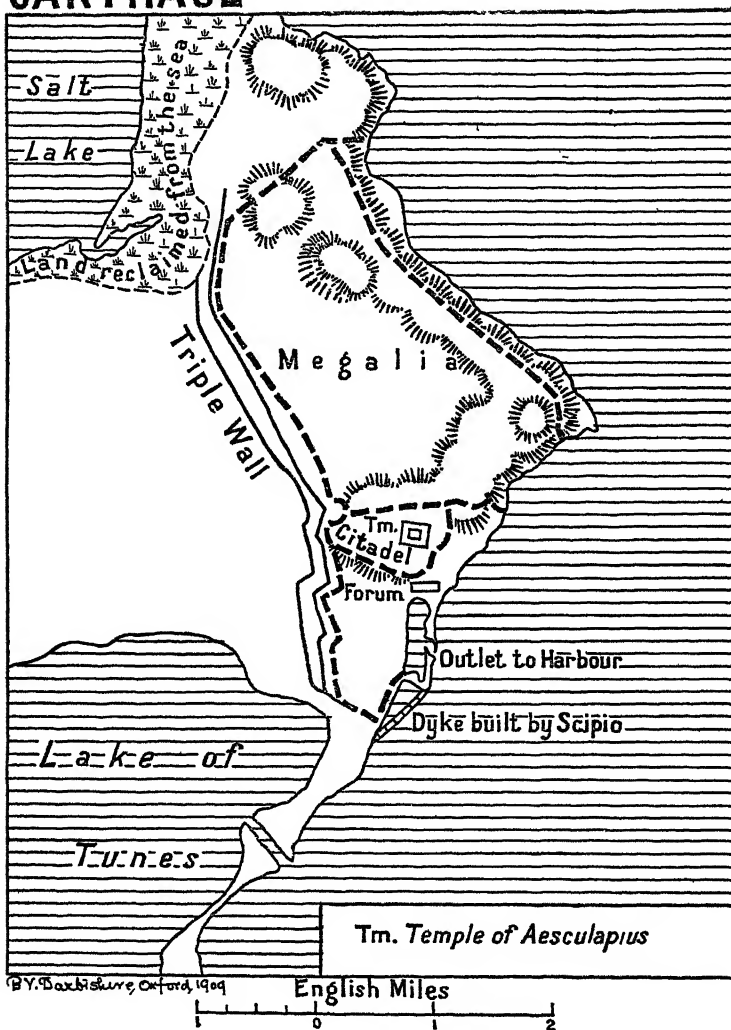
PART II
THE GREATNESS OF ROME

CHAPTER IX
THE FIRST PUNIC WAR

THE people of Carthage, against whom the Romans now found themselves matched, did not belong to the Indo-European but to the great Semitic race. The earliest homes of this people—the Phoenicians—were in Arabia and Syria. Babylon and Antioch, Tyre and Sidon had been rich cities before Rome was founded. The Phoenicians were traders. From Tyre and Sidon they sent out ships laden with the rich goods of their own country—silks, gold, pearl and ivory, dyes, perfumes, and ornaments—and brought back in exchange goods from all the countries that they visited. Very early their traders went to Cyprus and to Egypt, to Greece and Sicily, to Africa and Spain; they passed through the Pillars of Hercules out of the Mediterranean into the Atlantic and the North Sea. From Cornwall they brought tin, from Spain silver, from Elba iron, from Cyprus copper. Africa gave them slaves and the skins of lions and leopards, Egypt linen, and Greece wine and pottery.

They were dark-skinned men with blueblack hair, clad in brilliant colours. The Greeks called them Phoenicians, or purple men: the Romans knew of their country as the Punic land. As the home lands grew richer, settlers were sent to dwell in the lands with which they had traded.

CARTHAGE



In Africa they found good harbours, and bought land, and made their homes there. In the bay, formed by the most northerly points of Africa, was a magnificent harbour, almost unassailable from without, and there upon the hill that rose behind they built Carthage, the new city. Dido was its founder and first queen. Carthage With her Aeneas had stayed on his wanderings; but though she entertained him royally and would have kept him always, the gods called him on to Rome.

At the time of Pyrrhus Carthage was the richest town in the world. The African tribes of Libyans and Numidians paid heavy taxes, and supplied soldiers and sailors. The citizens paid no taxes, and the work was done by slaves. Their navy in its prime was better than the Greek, and it ruled the seas. Corsica and Sardinia belonged to the Carthaginians, and they had settlements in Spain. The silver mines of Gades were theirs, and slingers came to their army from the Balearic Isles. All the west of Sicily was in their hands. Trade was the source of most of their wealth; but in agriculture they excelled the Romans. A book on agriculture by the Carthaginian Mago was studied by later Roman farmers. The government was in the hands of the few, and the council was jealous of any one of great ability. Generals were crucified if they failed or if they were too successful. None but citizens had any rights, and the tax-paying tribes were so harshly ruled that there was always a danger of their rising. The army and navy were manned by paid soldiers from all over the world, who fought not for their country but for their pay. To a Roman his word once given was sacred; the Carthaginians were faithless. 'Punic faithlessness' passed into a proverb in Rome.

It was in Sicily, as Pyrrhus had foreseen, that Rome

The
Mamer-
tines.

271.

265

and Carthage were to meet in the death struggle. In Eastern Sicily Hiero of Syracuse was king, but all his land was disturbed by the raids of the Mamertines from Messina. When their kinsmen in Rhegium were defeated and punished by the Romans, Hiero attacked the Mamertines and shut them up in Messina. A Carthaginian force saved the town from Hiero, but occupied the citadel. The Mamertines meanwhile appealed to Rome.

Some of the senators said that the Romans who had punished the Mamertines in Rhegium could not in honour send help to their kinsmen in Messina: they had treated the people of Messina as the others had treated the Rhegians. But others held that since Messina was not a Roman city, what the Mamertines had done there did not matter. The real question was, whether it was safe to let the Carthaginians seize Messina—for that was what would happen if the Romans did not interfere. If the Carthaginians were masters of Sicily, Messina was the bridge on which they could cross to Italy. But was Rome strong enough to fight Carthage? The Senate called upon the people, and the people voted for war.

First Punic
War,
264-242.

Help was to be sent to the Mamertines.

Hiero.

In 264 the war began and lasted for twenty-three years. Appius Claudius the consul crossed to Messina, defeated both Hiero and the Carthaginians, and entered the town. Many Sicilian cities joined the Romans, and they were followed by Hiero himself, who began to think they were the stronger. For the rest of his life he was a faithful and useful ally to Rome.

Siege of
Agrigen-
tum.

The Carthaginian head-quarters were now at Agrigentum, which they had strongly fortified and supplied, and the Romans laid siege to the town. After five months the besieged began to be in need of food. The Carthaginians sent an army to their relief under Hanno.

He encamped at Herbessus, between the Romans and their supplies, so that they in their turn began to suffer from hunger. However, after weeks of skirmishing Hanno was forced to give battle. He was defeated and his army destroyed. In the night that followed the Carthaginian garrison escaped from Agrigentum, and the town fell into the hands of the Romans. 262.

This success encouraged the Romans; but they saw that to defeat Carthage they must have a fleet. With marvellous energy and courage they began to build one. They had only transport-vessels, and did not even know how a battleship was built until during the war a Carthaginian ship was driven ashore and copied. While the shipwrights were busy, the men practised rowing on dry land. By the summer of 260 the first Roman fleet was launched, and Cornelius Scipio made admiral. On his way to Messina he was shut up in the harbour of Lipara with seventeen vessels, and made prisoner by the Carthaginians. The rest of the fleet, however, defeated a small Carthaginian squadron. The Romans build a fleet.

Caius Duilius, consul on land, was now called to the head of the fleet. The captains meantime had been busy with a new device. To every ship was attached at the prow a long pole, worked by a pulley, with an iron spike at the end. As soon as the enemy came near enough this pole was swung round and caught the vessel fast by means of the iron 'crow' at the end of it. The soldiers then ran along a bridge fastened to the pole and boarded, forcing the enemy to fight hand to hand. All the ships were thus fitted, and Duilius was eager to try them. The crows

They came up with the enemy at Mylae; and a battle took place at once, for the Carthaginians were the first sailors in the world, and despised the Romans, who only yesterday did not even know how a man-of-war was Battle of Mylae.

built ; thus they had no fears. The Carthaginians charged. As soon as they came near, however, the crows, which they had never seen before, came down and grappled them with an iron hand. Thirty ships were captured at once ; and when the rest of the fleet tried to take the Romans from behind, they swung the crows round with the greatest ease and held them on that side also. Their men were better fighters, though the Carthaginians were better sailors ; and after losing fifty ships in all, the enemy turned and fled.

Great was the rejoicing in Rome over this first naval victory.

The next two years passed without striking successes on either side. Then the Romans determined to attack the Carthaginians in Africa. More ships had been built, and a fleet of 330 vessels under Manlius and Regulus sailed along the southern coast of Sicily to Africa. At Point Ecnomus, on this side of Agrigentum, they fell in with the Carthaginian navy.

Battle of
Ecnomus,
256.

The Roman fleet was the smaller, and they had the worse position, having to face the open sea. Their ships were not so quick in movement as the enemy's.

Nevertheless their first powerful charge broke the centre of the long Carthaginian line. The crows were again used successfully, and hand to hand fighting followed. In the end the victory was with the Romans ; twenty-four of their ships were sunk, but none taken ; they had captured sixty-four Punic ships with their crews.

After the battle they repaired their ships, restocked them with provisions, and again set sail. At Clupea they landed, and after building a stockade round the vessels, which they drew up on the shore, they took Clupea, and began to plunder the country round. Many towns were destroyed, and thousands of slaves captured.

When winter came the Senate sent orders to Manlius to return home with all but forty ships ; Regulus remained Regulus in Africa with an army of 15,500 men. Step by step he advanced, ravaging and destroying the country as he came. In Carthage great alarm was felt. All the generals were summoned, and an army sent out against Regulus. The strength of the Punic armies lay in their cavalry and elephants, which could only be used on a plain. When the Carthaginian army stupidly encamped on a hill, Regulus attacked it at once, and defeated it completely. He then advanced to Tunes, only twenty miles from Carthage.

The plight of the city was alarming. On the northeast the Numidians were ravaging their lands, and doing even more harm than the Romans. There were so many people crowded into the city that food ran short ; and they were terrified of the Romans.

Regulus believed the town could not hold out long. He knew that in the spring his consulship would be at an end ; and he wanted to finish the war. So he invited the Carthaginians to make terms. But he was so confident of success that the terms he offered were such as would have been hard even had he already entered the city as a conqueror. Carthage was to give up her fleet altogether, pay tribute to Rome and the expenses of the war, and give up Sicily and Sardinia. The Carthaginians were a brave people—they refused. Rather than endure such disgrace, they would defend the city with their lives.

It was at this moment that they heard that a Spartan named Xanthippus had declared that the Carthaginian Xanthip- defeats were not due to the superiority of the Romans, pus. but to the stupidity of their own generals. He was a skilled soldier—and, eager to snatch at any chance, they

made him commander-in-chief. Xanthippus drilled and disciplined the soldiers, and in a few days an army of 16,000 men and 100 elephants marched out to do battle with the foe. Xanthippus won a complete victory. Many of the Romans were trampled to death by the elephants, which Xanthippus put in the front of his line ; the rest were shot down by the slings and arrows of the
255. cavalry. Thousands were slain, and 500 who tried to escape by flight were taken prisoners. Among them was Regulus. So had his fortune changed.

The stragglers of the army retired to Clupea ; and here the Carthaginians besieged them till they heard that a Roman fleet of 350 vessels was on the sea. This fleet under Fulvius Nobilior took off the fugitives ; but on the homeward voyage along the southern coast of Sicily, of whose dangers they had been warned, a terrible storm overtook them, and out of 350 vessels only eighty reached home. The rest were sunk or dashed to pieces on the rocks. The Romans, as Polybius says, thought nothing impossible on which they had set their minds ; and this faith in themselves was part of the secret of their victories ; but at sea there are places where it is dangerous, and seasons when it is not safe to sail, and this they would not see.

254. With undaunted courage they began to build another fleet ; and 300 ships were ready in a marvellously short time, which sailed to Sicily under Cornelius Scipio, and captured the Carthaginian stronghold of Panormus, one of the best harbours in the island. But on their return to Rome the fleet rashly took the open sea, and a fearful storm destroyed 150 of the ships.

The Carthaginians were now masters of the sea. The fate of Regulus's armies made the Romans fearful of their elephants. The fortune of Rome was at its lowest : the

Carthaginians might have ended the war by a great effort. But two years passed in which, though the war went on, nothing much was done by either side.

Then Hasdrubal, the Punic general, led an army against Panormus. But Caecilius Metellus had posted his men all along the walls with darts and javelins, which they threw down upon the elephants. The beasts, maddened by the pain, trampled down their own ranks as they rushed through them; Metellus then led out his infantry, and the Carthaginians were routed; over 100 elephants were captured, and the Romans lost their fear of them. 251.

Except Lilybaeum and Drepana the Romans were now masters of Sicily; and the Carthaginians sent an embassy to ask for peace. Among the ambassadors was the wretched Regulus. But although he knew that the Carthaginians would kill him if he returned unsuccessful, he urged his countrymen to go on with the war. The terms were refused and Regulus sent back. In Carthage his eyelids were cut off, and he was set to sit in the sun in a pillory studded with nails till he died.

The war went on. With dauntless courage the Romans built another fleet of 200 vessels. The consuls set out for Lilybaeum, and besieged it by sea and land. The town was strongly fortified, and the harbour was edged with dangerous lagoons. On the land side were lines of vast fortifications, stronger even than when Pyrrhus had failed to take them twenty-five years ago. Himilco, the commander of the garrison, was an able and determined soldier. A year passed, and in spite of all the Romans could do, little seemed gained. Provisions were smuggled in to the besieged by a secret way; a storm destroyed most of the Roman artillery and engines, and the Carthaginians set fire to the rest. Siege of
Liby-
baeum,
250-249.

Drepana,
249

In the next year the consul Claudius sailed off to attack the Carthaginian fleet in the harbour of Drepana. He was caught in a bad position and utterly defeated. Ninety-three Roman vessels were captured, and only thirty came back to Lilybaeum. Claudius was removed from his command, and killed himself rather than endure the disgrace of failure.

Later in the same year another Roman fleet conveying stores to Lilybaeum was dashed to fragments by a fearful storm. Not one vessel was worth repairing.

It was a dark year for Rome. Lilybaeum was unconquered; the sea again in Carthaginian hands. The Romans had lost four great fleets, and the state could do no more. Four armies had been lost almost to a man. The population of Rome sank in five years by a sixth of the whole number. The end of the war seemed further off than it had done sixteen years ago. Yet in Rome there was no thought of giving in. For eight more years Roman pride held doggedly on.

Hamilcar
Barca.

Had the Carthaginian government been filled by the Roman spirit they might have finished the war by a great effort now. They were immensely rich. But they neglected the fleet, and though a really great and brilliant general had arisen in Hamilcar Barca, they did not fully trust him. Barca means lightning, and Hamilcar was lightning-swift in his movements, and a more able general than any on the other side. He had captured Mount Hercte in Sicily, and held it against all that the Roman generals could do. From there his men ravaged and plundered all the country round.

248-242.

For six years nothing was done but skirmishing in Sicily; and in this Hamilcar was so successful that he might yet have ended the war in victory for Carthage had not events elsewhere decided otherwise.

The Roman treasury was empty. The state was exhausted. But a number of rich men resolved to save their country. They came forward, and selling all they had, got together a fleet of 250 vessels, built on a new plan, with 60,000 men to man them. When the fleet was ready it was presented to the state. The consul Lutatius Catulus felt it an honour to command such a navy.

Great fleets cannot be built in secrecy; the Carthaginians ought to have known what was going on. But the navy was ready sooner than could have been expected, and Catulus found the harbours of Lilybaeum and Drepana empty and undefended. He occupied them both. The siege of Lilybaeum went on once more in good earnest. Meantime Catulus practised his crews so as to be ready for the Carthaginians.

Sea and land were now lost for Carthage unless they could win a great victory; and the whole summer went by with no sign of a fleet. None was ready till the spring of 243; and then it was a navy by no means equal to the Roman. They were old vessels, more suitable for transport than for war, that had been hastily patched up; and they were laden with supplies that Hanno the admiral meant to unload before meeting the Romans. But Catulus foresaw and prevented him. At the Aegatian Islands he threw his ships across Hanno's route; the Carthaginians were forced to fight and were completely defeated. The Roman ships were better, their sailors were better, and every man in the fleet was inspired by the devoted patriotism that had made it. Seventy Punic vessels were captured with their crews and fifty sunk.

Battle of
the
Aegatian
Islands,
242.

The war was at an end. Drepana was taken. Hamilcar, still master of Hercte, saw that there was nothing to do but yield. He met Catulus in order to arrange a peace.

Sicily was Roman from henceforth. Southern Italy Peace, 242.

was safe, and a magnificent corn supply secured. The Carthaginians lost the command of the sea. They had to pay a huge ransom to Rome, leave Sicily, and send back all prisoners free. Rome and Carthage each promised not to attack the lands of the other.

After twenty-four years of war Rome had won her first possession outside Italy. Sicily was a province—it paid taxes, a tenth part of all fruit, corn, and cattle, and tolls to Rome—and Rome had proved herself more than a match for Carthage, her one dangerous foe.

CHAPTER X

HAMILCAR

VERY soon after the conquest of Sicily, both Corsica and Sardinia fell into the hands of Rome.

When the Carthaginian armies were withdrawn from Sicily, the troops mutinied because they had not been paid, and the government, burdened with the heavy ransom to Rome, could not afford to pay them. Led by Spendius and Matho, the mercenaries maintained themselves for months, ravaged the country round and treated all Carthaginians who fell into their hands, even their own former officers, with the most horrible cruelty. The Libyans rose also: and Carthage was for some time in a pitiable plight. Her food supply was cut off and she was surrounded by enemies. When the garrisons in Sardinia mutinied too, and appealed to Rome to help them, the Carthaginians could not prevent the Romans from making themselves masters of the island and of Corsica, though by doing so Rome broke the treaty of 242. When they protested, Rome threatened them with war, and then made the wretched city pay the cost of the expedition that had been got ready against her.

As a matter of fact, the Romans were glad enough not to have to go to war. There was trouble in the North. The Ligurians were alarmed when Corsica became Roman and Pisa began to be a Roman port. They moved south and joined the Boii. The Ligurians were defeated first by Gracchus, and then by Fabius; but the Boii were more dangerous, for they had called

on their kinsmen beyond the Alps to aid them, and a mighty host swept down upon Ariminum. The danger seemed great; but the Gauls fell to quarrelling among themselves and destroyed one another's armies.

235. For a time the peril was over, there was peace in Rome. In 235 the temple of Janus was closed. But the Gauls were uncomfortable neighbours, and the peace in the North could not last. If Italy was to be one country with Rome as its head, the rich lands between Etruria and the Alps could not be left to wild barbarians. The Po was a magnificent river: ships could sail up it for nearly thirty miles, and the plains through which it flowed were the richest in Italy. The rich lands of the Lingones, the Boii, the Insubres, and the Cenoman tempted the farmers and the landless men of Rome.

Land Bill of
Flaminius.

In 232, the tribune Caius Flaminius brought in a law intended to help the poorer Romans by giving them land in the North. Roman colonies were to be planted near Picenum and Ariminum. Most of the senators were against the bill. Fabius Maximus, their leader, said it was a bad thing to settle Romans so far away, and that to give land to the poor encouraged those who did not want to work. Idle men, he said, could flock into Rome from the country to get land, and then sell it and come back for more. Flaminius replied that there were men willing and eager for work who could not do it because there was not enough land. He carried the day. His law was passed.

The Gauls
march
south, 225.

But when the Gauls heard of the law they were alarmed. The powerful tribes of the Boii and Insubres formed a league, which was joined by all the other Gauls on the Italian side of the Alps, except the Veneti, and the Cenomani, who had made an alliance with Rome. A great army came, too, from beyond the Alps.

With a host of 50,000 foot and 20,000 horse they came across the Apennines on the road to Rome. The mob, remembering Brennus, were terrified.

The consul Lucius Aemilius Papus led one army north, while another was sent to Etruria, which the Gauls were plundering. This army was defeated by the Gauls before Aemilius could join it: he only came up in time to prevent its being destroyed to a man. As it was, 6,000 Romans were slain.

The Gauls then began to retreat northwards; but now they found in front of them another Roman army under Atilius Regulus, who had hastily returned from Sardinia. Aemilius did not know he was so near; nevertheless Atilius attacked the Gauls. He himself, at the head of his cavalry, charged their flank so as to get round and inform Aemilius that the Gauls were between the two Roman armies. Atilius sacrificed his life, but not in vain: Aemilius's legions closed in upon the Gauls. Back to back the barbarians fought heroically, but their wild charges could not break the Roman order, and shut in between the two Roman armies they perished. Forty thousand lay dead on the field; 10,000 were taken prisoners.

After the battle of Telamon the war was carried into the enemy's country. The Boii and Lingones were subdued; and later Flaminius defeated the Insubres by the heroic valour of his troops, for he led them into a bad position. At Clastidium, in the next year, Marcellus killed King Viridomarus with his own hand in battle; and Cnaeus Scipio took Mediolanum, the chief town of the Gauls.

With that the war was ended. South of the Po the Gauls were wiped out. Up to the Alps the overlordship of Rome was acknowledged. The Veneti and Ceno-

Battle of
Telamon,
225.

222.

mani remained as allies: the rest of the tribes had to pay tribute to Rome.

Via
Flaminia.

Twenty years before, a great road had been begun which Flaminius now completed. The Via Flaminia was the first road built across the Apennines from sea to sea, and it was a powerful means of holding the conquered country. Colonies were placed at Placentia, Cremona, and Mutina.

Occasional outbreaks disturbed the peace in Liguria; but the Gauls were no longer dangerous. By themselves they would not dare to attack Rome; and the Romans did not yet dream of the day when an invader should cross the Alps and rouse the Gauls to join him.

Illyria.

About this time, too, there had been war on the Illyrian coast. From very early times the Illyrian pirates had made the Adriatic unsafe for peaceful people and plundered the towns on the coast. In the reign of Queen Teuta they became such a pest that the people of the islands and the Italian merchants appealed to Rome to interfere. After a fruitless embassy an expedition was sent. Teuta submitted, and her ally, Demetrius of Pharos, fled to the Court of Macedon, where he stirred up trouble for Rome. The other Greek powers, the Aetolians in the north and the Achaeans in the south, were glad to help Rome against the Illyrians, and at Athens Roman ambassadors were entertained with the highest honours. The Romans had long known the glorious history of Greece, and in Athens their feelings were deeply stirred.

Rome and
Greece.

Position of
Rome.

Thus in every direction Rome had strengthened herself since the Punic War. She was secure as mistress of Italy from the north to the sea: her conquests of Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia, and over the Illyrians, made her mistress of the Tyrrhenian and the Adriatic Seas. She

was satisfied with what she had acquired and disposed for peace.

At home affairs went smoothly. The quarrels between the orders had ceased. The best men in Rome looked upon the service of the state as the highest object in life, and thus the senate and magistrates worked well together. A Roman served the state either as a soldier, or officer in the army, or as a magistrate. By this time most of the offices were settled in the form in which they remained, and a brief account of them may be given.

While the Senate discussed, advised, and often settled large questions of public policy, the actual administration was carried on by a set of officials appointed every year, and each holding office for one year only. All these officials began their year's work on January 1st, save the tribunes, who came into office in December. None of them were paid. No one looked to gain anything for himself save the honour of work well done. It was very unusual for anyone to hold an office twice in succession.

The highest office, the one most prized, to which the others all led up, was the consulship. The two consuls had equal powers. When both were in the city, neither could take any step without the consent of the other; and it was decided by lot which of them should perform any particular duty. While in office they could not be brought to trial for anything they did. All the other magistrates, save the tribunes, were under their control. They alone could call a meeting of the assembly for elections, trials, passing of bills, or declaration of peace or war. Only the consul could name a dictator. They called the senate to advise them; but they need not take the advice unless they chose. They could summon any citizen before them, and have him brought by force if he refused to obey. Each year was named in

Roman records after the consuls. The year 281, for example, was known as the 'year in which L. Aemilius Barbula and Q. Marcius Philippus were consuls'. The consuls were commanders-in-chief of the army. They wore the cloak with the deep scarlet border known as the 'toga praetexta', and sat on seats adorned with ivory, known as curule chairs. Each had twelve attendants, lictors, who went before him carrying bundles of rods within the city, and rods and axes outside the walls. A dictator had twenty-four lictors, who carried rods and axes, even within the city, as a sign of the power of life and death.

Sella curulis.

Fasces et secures.

The consuls held office for a year; but in the later years of the state, when Rome had many armies in different parts of the world, they often held office abroad for another year as 'proconsuls'.

Proconsuls.

Tribunes.

All the other magistrates were under the control of the consuls except the tribunes. From the beginning the tribunes had stood apart. They were ten in number, and always chosen from the plebeians. When, much later, a young patrician of the Claudian house wished to be elected as a tribune, he had first to get himself adopted into a plebeian family. The persons of the tribunes were 'sacrosanct': anyone who did them any injury was considered under the ban of the gods. He might be put to death without appeal to the people. The power of the tribunes, which was great, lay in their veto. Outside the city they had no power at all; but within it one tribune could stop all the business of the state so long as no other tribune came forward to stop him. This was their weakness—one of the ten could stop all the others. At first the tribunes did really use their powers to protect the people; but in later years the office was too often filled by men of low character, paid by party

leaders. The tribunes had no outside marks of office. Each had one attendant, that was all.

When the Licinian laws compelled the senate to admit plebeians to the consulship, the patricians caused the right of acting as judges in the law courts to be taken away from the consuls, and given to new magistrates called praetors, who until 337 were always patricians, but after that might be patricians or plebeians. At first there were two praetors, one to judge cases between citizens, another to judge between citizens and foreigners. After the Punic War two more praetors were appointed, to act as governors in Sicily and Sardinia. There were always two in the city. When Rome acquired new provinces, praetors were sent to govern them to all parts of the world. They ranked next to the consuls, wearing the scarlet bordered cloak and sitting on the curule chair. Two lictors attended them in the city, six when they were abroad.

The two plebeian aediles were originally only assistants to the tribunes. After the Licinian laws 'curule aediles' were appointed, who were at first of superior rank and only chosen from the patricians. After a while, however, there was no real difference between the two plebeian and the two curule aediles, and men of either order could be elected. The aediles did the work of police. They had, first, to preserve good order within the city, to see that the streets were kept clean, the traffic properly managed, and the buildings in good repair. They prevented landowners or builders from taking in public land, and punished moneylenders who took more than their legal interest. Secondly, they looked after the corn supply. They saw that enough was brought in to feed Rome, and fined any dealers who hoarded up large stocks in order to sell them at a great price. Thirdly, they managed the public games

367

Praetors,
337.*Aediles*

(i) Police

(ii) Food
supply.(iii) Festi-
vals.

and festivals that took place five or six times during the year. An aedile who wished to make himself popular spent great sums in this way.

Quaestors. The eight quaestors were assistant magistrates. One assisted each consul; one went to Ostia, the port of Rome; the others went with the praetors and proconsuls to the provinces. The quaestorship was the first office held by young politicians, and could only be held after ten years of military service. Seventeen was the age for entering the army; few men became quaestor before they had passed their thirtieth year.

Censors. One high office remains, different from the others in that it was regularly filled by older men who had already been consul: this is the censorship. Servius Tullius chose two censors to count the people and record their property. At first they held office for five years; afterwards for eighteen months. The censors were always looked up to with reverence and respect; and the censorship was often the crowning honour of a life of public service. Their business was to classify the citizens: in doing this they affixed a mark against the name of any man who in their opinion had done something unworthy of a Roman citizen, though not punishable by law; anyone who lived luxuriously or immorally, who had shown cowardice, or behaved in any way disgracefully. The censor was thus judge of the morals of his fellow citizens, and this gave him great power. It was the business of the censors also to arrange for the collection of the taxes and how much each man was to pay. They had charge of public works, such as temples, bridges, roads, and aqueducts—all these they gave out to contractors.

The great strength of Rome at this time was that it was not divided by the strife of parties. All good men

were ready to serve side by side. In Carthage things were very different.

Carthage suffered from the weakness from which Rome was free—the state was torn by the strife of two parties. One party, led by Hanno, wanted peace with Rome, if not with honour. They thought more of their own comfort than of the dignity of Carthage; and war was uncomfortable. Peace at any price was their cry.

The other party, led by Hamilcar Barca, felt that Carthage was disgraced until her defeat was wiped out. They said Rome meant to crush Carthage. The cowardice of the peace party, which was in power, disgusted them so much that they thought of leaving Carthage and starting a new city elsewhere. But Hamilcar was the true patriot, who would serve his country whether she valued his services or no. He had been filled with bitterness when he made peace in 242, and when Sardinia was seized by Rome; and he had sworn to be revenged.

Hamilcar was far the best general Carthage possessed, and he was commander-in-chief with full powers. But he had no money, and the army had to be made. The peace party distrusted him and hampered him in every way. In spite of them Hamilcar settled the affairs of Africa, restored order and discipline, and then, leaving an army to take charge of the country under his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, he himself set sail for Spain, where he meant to win for Carthage a new empire that would make up for the loss of Sicily.

Hamilcar was a young man still, not more than thirty-five, but he felt that the task was a huge one, and he might not live to fulfil it. Before he started he sacrificed to Jove on the high altar, and there called to him his son Hannibal, then nine years old. On the altar he made the boy swear never to be friends with Rome.

He took Hannibal and his other sons, Hasdrubal and Mago, to Spain with him, and for the next ten years the camp was their home. Under their father they learned skill in all military exercises, and a courage, hardihood, and endurance that nothing could subdue. Hamilcar saw that they lost nothing by being away from schools; he taught them himself languages and sciences. Hannibal could write good Greek, and was well acquainted with history. Everything a soldier should know, he had learned. Hamilcar had a genius for the making of soldiers. The raw Libyans and Numidians that he had taken out with him, who served unwillingly for pay, became magnificent soldiers, ready to go through fire and water for their leader.

The Barcas
in Spain.

As soon as he landed he began the conquest of Spain. Gades was already Carthaginian, but not much more. Hamilcar subdued one tribe after another, built towns and ports, settled colonies, and in nine years had made the whole of Southern Spain Carthaginian. Many Spaniards joined his army, and he encouraged his own soldiers to marry Spanish wives. And in government he showed the same genius as in war. He protected the peaceful tribes against their savage neighbours, encouraged agriculture, and in the last year taught the people how to mine. Twenty years later Cato, a Roman who hated the very name of Carthage, travelled in Spain, and declared, 'I never heard of a king worthy to be named beside Hamilcar Barca.'

229. Hamilcar was a soldier who never spared himself. On an expedition to some wild country his forces were outnumbered, and in order that his sons might escape he drew the enemy against himself and was killed at the age of forty-four.

Hasdrubal. The army chose his son-in-law Hasdrubal to succeed

him, and he carried on Hamilcar's work. His chief officer and leader of the cavalry was young Hannibal. The Carthaginian power was pushed further and further north. The south was strengthened by the founding of Nova Carthago (New Carthage) on the best harbour on the coast. New Carthage, 228.

This alarmed the Romans; but they were busy elsewhere. A treaty was made in which Hasdrubal promised that the Carthaginian armies should not advance north of the Ebro. A year or two later Rome made an alliance with the Greek towns of Saguntum and Emporiae.

Meantime, Spain was becoming more and more valuable to Carthage. Wealth flowed into their coffers from its mines and cornfields. The Spaniards were splendid soldiers, and they were being splendidly trained. At the time when Hasdrubal was killed Spain was more profitable to Carthage than Sicily had ever been. Rome watched the Carthaginian power growing, and did nothing to prevent it. There was, indeed, in Rome at this time no great statesman. 227.

The one great statesman and leader living at the moment was the young man of twenty-six who, in the year in which Rome ended the war in Gaul (221), was chosen by the army commander of the Carthaginian forces in Spain. Since the age of nine Hannibal had had one great purpose ever before his eyes. His father had made him swear never to be friends with Rome; his hatred of Rome had grown with his growth: it was a trust, handed on to him by his dead father. In his eyes all was fair in war against such an enemy, and the men of his time thought so too. No one who served under Hannibal could help loving him. His soldiers all adored him. They saw that he spared himself none of the pain and fatigue that they had to bear; that his clothes and

his food were as simple as their own ; that he was always first to charge, last to retreat. They loved him for this, but for more than this. He made them feel that the ends for which he fought—the destruction of Rome and the triumph of Carthage—were their ends too ; that he fought for nothing personal, nothing for himself, but for something much greater, for an idea. He had, too, the charm which is a thing apart ; and for the man who possesses it men will lay down their lives cheerfully.

To Hannibal war was a science. Long before he started against Rome he had studied all the material that he could obtain dealing with Roman methods of war and the ways of the people of Italy. He talked with the Gauls in his army until he knew all they could tell him. He knew that Gaul was conquered, but not content. Now was his time to strike, and he did not mean to wait. Everything was ready, and the Romans seemed asleep. He had spies in Italy, who kept him aware of all that went on there.

Saguntum,
219.

In 220, the year after he had been made leader, he had made up his mind. His army was ready and his coffers full. The Carthaginian government was not ready, but Hannibal determined to force their hand. He laid siege to Saguntum. This was a declaration of war, as Saguntum was a Roman ally. The town defended itself heroically. Had Rome sent help it might have been saved. But they only sent ambassadors to Carthage when Hannibal had taken the town after a seven months' siege, in which he showed all the most brilliant qualities of a general. The ambassadors demanded that Hannibal should be given up. The Carthaginians began a long defence. Then Fabius Maximus, the chief envoy, interrupted, saying : ' In the folds of my toga I carry peace and war—choose.' The Carthaginians replied he might

give which he chose—they knew it was settled. ‘Then,’ said Fabius, ‘we give you war.’

While the Romans talked, Hannibal had been at work. His plan had been laid years ago. Hamilcar’s keen eye had seen it; Hasdrubal had prepared the way; Hannibal, the greatest of the three, was to carry it out. The Spanish troops were sent home for the winter as a mark of their general’s confidence in them; Spaniards were sent to guard Libya and Africa, and Libyans brought to guard Spain under Hasdrubal, a younger brother of Hannibal.

On the appointed day, in the spring of 218, Hannibal left New Carthage, with 90,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 37 elephants, and started on the invasion of Italy.

CHAPTER XI

HANNIBAL

218. HANNIBAL'S bold plan was to march through Northern Spain, over the Pyrenees, along the Rhone, and then across the Alps, probably over the little St. Bernard Pass, down into Italy. While the Romans were slowly preparing for the war which they ought long ago to have expected, and which their own seizure of Sardinia had really caused, he carried out his plan.

It took Hannibal several months of hard fighting to subdue the tribes of Northern Spain, although they got no help from their ally, Rome, and he lost there nearly a quarter of his army. But by the time he crossed the Pyrenees, Spain was conquered. An army was left to guard it.

Then the march through the land of the Gauls began. Friendly tribes had promised to guide him on his way, and the army—now 50,000 foot and 9,000 horse—met with no great difficulties until they came to the point at which the Rhone had to be crossed, near where Avignon now stands. The river was wide, deep, and swift; on the other side an army of unfriendly Gauls was waiting to attack the Carthaginians as soon as they came over. These Gauls were Roman allies, and they expected to be joined by a Roman army under Scipio. But the Romans had been slow in all their preparations. Publius Cornelius Scipio had only just landed at Massilia, meaning to invade Spain and prevent Hannibal from leaving it; and when messengers came to tell him Hannibal was

The
crossing of
the Rhone.

on the Rhone, he did not believe them. He sent a body of Roman horse to reconnoitre, instead of marching on with all speed himself. Hannibal meantime had spent his time in buying all the boats, rafts, logs and fallen trees to be had for miles round, and lashed them together to form a bridge. On it his whole army crossed safely in a single day. Meantime he had sent on a body of light horsemen under Hanno to swim the river higher up; and these attacked the Gauls from behind and set fire to their camp, as they fell upon the Carthaginians landing from the raft. Taken by surprise, they soon fled in wild confusion, and after that Hannibal brought the elephants over without trouble. Scipio's scouts came up at the same moment; after a short skirmish they sped back with the astonishing news that Hannibal and his whole army had crossed the Rhone and were on their way to Italy; and when Scipio by forced marches arrived at Avignon, the Carthaginians were three days ahead.

Lost time could not be made up; Hannibal would cross the Alps unless the Alps themselves prevented him. Scipio sent his army to Spain, whither his brother Cnaeus had already gone, and himself sailed to Pisa to be prepared with an army to meet Hannibal when he reached Italy.

Hannibal now had a heroic task before him. No regular army had ever crossed the Alps; and the season was growing late. Had the Romans been able to delay him till winter, he could not have crossed at all. The spirits of his men sank; but he encouraged them. Before they reached the mountains they passed through the lands of two Gallic chieftains whose armies were drawn up for battle against each other. Hannibal helped one of them to victory; and in return the chief guided them to the bottom of the pass and provided the soldiers with

The ascent.

new boots, cloaks and weapons, of which many of them were in need after so many months on the march.

Unfriendly tribes harassed them painfully when they entered on the narrow mountain track. Javelins and stones were thrown in showers from the high rocks, which terrified the horses so that they slipped and fell down to the precipices below, or ran back among the beasts of burden and broke the line. Hannibal defeated a large body of these Gauls, but in turning to meet them the line was broken and many lives lost. The mountaineers did not again attack, for they were too much frightened of the elephants to come very near, but they hung on the rear. From the ridges above, hidden enemies rolled down vast boulders, which threw the heavy baggage train into disorder, frightening and killing many.

At the end of the tenth day in the mountains the summit of the pass was reached. Hannibal revived the drooping spirits of his weary men by pointing to the rich and shining plains of Italy that lay far below them.

The
descent.

In some ways the descent was even more terrible than the ascent, for though they met no enemies it was well on in October, and the first snow had fallen on top of last winter's snows, which at that height never melted quite away. The track was very narrow and very steep, and any one who missed it was hurled down steep precipices on either side. And the snow made it almost impossible for the men to see where they were putting their feet; they went through the soft, fresh snow to the old snow underneath, which was as hard and slippery as ice and gave no foothold at all. If a man fell he could not hold himself either by hands or feet, but slid faster and faster

at every moment. In this way many lives were lost. At last a path had to be cut out of the face of the hillside, for the track had fallen away and the elephants could not move at all. The poor beasts were almost dead with cold and hunger—there was no vegetation, nothing for them to eat, and their feet, like those of men and horses, suffered terribly.

At last the bottom was reached and the army descended easily into the Italian plains. The crossing had taken fifteen days, counting three spent in cutting the path. It was five months since they had started from New Carthage, and in that time their numbers had sunk to 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse—all in a miserable state. Their clothes and boots were in rags, their weapons rusty, their bodies wasted by cold and privation and worn out by the fatigues they had endured. It was well, indeed, that no Roman army awaited them. The Taurini, among whom they found themselves, were unfriendly because of Hannibal's alliance with their enemies the Insubres. Hannibal gave his men a brief rest, and then attacked the Taurini and took Turin, their chief town, putting to the sword those who would not submit. There his men could rest, refresh and refit themselves for the coming struggle.

When Hannibal took Turin, Scipio had only reached Placentia, and the force he had with him was a small one. The other consul, Sempronius, had been sent with a fleet and an army to Africa, but when the news came that Hannibal had crossed the Alps he was recalled and ordered to join Scipio.

Scipio was, however, exceedingly anxious to meet Hannibal, and in order to do so he crossed the River Ticinus to the plain beyond, where Hannibal came towards him. He was equally ready, for his force was superior

Hannibal
in Italy.

Turin

Battle on
the Ticinus,
218.

Scipio
saved by
his son.

in cavalry and the plain ground gave him an advantage that he was not slow to use. A sharp fight followed. The Numidian cavalry drove the Roman to flight and crushed their light-armed infantry. Scipio himself was wounded. His life was saved by his gallant son, then eighteen, who was serving for the first time.

After this defeat Scipio could only retire and wait for Sempronius. Two thousand Gauls in his army deserted to Hannibal. He was wounded and helpless. Therefore with all speed he recrossed the Po, leaving 600 men to break down the bridge; they were captured by Hannibal.

Scipio now took up a strong position on the River Trebia, with the Apennines behind him and Placentia on his right, and Hannibal, who had taken the well-stocked fortress of Clastidium, had to encamp opposite. He could not go south because Scipio blocked the way—nor east, for Sempronius was approaching from Ariminum. Hannibal knew that after one victory the Gauls would join him, so he was anxious for battle; at present they were cut off from him by Scipio's army. The reasons that made Hannibal eager for battle ought to have made the Romans delay it. But Sempronius wanted the glory of a victory before the end of his year of office; since Scipio was wounded, all the honour of the day would be his.

Battle of
the Trebia,
Dec., 218.

With great skill Hannibal enticed the Romans from their superior position to attack his. In the grey dawn of a rainy winter morning he set a band of his Numidian cavalry to attack the enemy's lines and tempt them across the stream by throwing showers of darts as they retreated. The Trebia was in flood; rain and snow were falling; the Romans were wet and cold as they struggled through the water to attack. Hannibal's men were drawn up ready on the flat ground on the other

side; they had been warmed by an early breakfast, while the Romans were hungry as well as chilled. Nevertheless, the Roman infantry formed into order and stood their ground well until Hannibal gave the order to the reserves, which he had planted under his brother Mago behind a small copse, to come out of ambush. Unexpectedly they fell upon the Roman rear. Pressed in front by the elephants, on one flank by the cavalry, on the other and from behind by the infantry, the Romans gave way. Those in the rear retreated to the river, where they were cut down by the light-armed infantry. The vanguard cut their way out, and the heavy sleet prevented pursuit.

The loss of the battle was due to the general, who had allowed the enemy to choose time and place; the soldiers had fought gallantly, but the victory was Hannibal's. Hannibal lost many men, and all the elephants but one died of the cold and wet. But now Rising of the Gauls. all Gaul was up in arms. All Italy north of the Po was in the hands of the invader. Hannibal could go into winter quarters and busy himself with training the Gauls and forming them into new regiments.

His plan was to rouse Italy against Rome. While the Roman prisoners were kept in chains, the Italians were Hannibal and the Italians. treated kindly and sent home without ransom—Hannibal said he had not come to make war upon the Italians but to free them from Rome. He knew how strong Rome was. He could not hope to conquer by frightening her. The ground would have to be fought, inch by inch. Unless the Italians joined him, the task was impossible, even for him; and he knew it. The Gauls were eager for plunder and booty, but so treacherous that Hannibal went about disguised by false hair and beard for fear of being murdered by one of them.

C. Flaminius.

In Rome the winter was spent in preparing two fresh armies. One under Servilius went to Ariminum, the other under Caius Flaminius to Arretium, to prevent Hannibal from crossing the Apennines. But Hannibal knew the man he had to deal with, and laid his plans accordingly. Flaminius was the idol of the people and had a very good opinion of himself. He was brave, generous and energetic, but hot-headed and impatient for striking successes. He believed that a clever general, like himself, should have no difficulty in defeating the Carthaginians; he only wanted a chance.

Hannibal crosses the Apennines.

When he heard that Hannibal had not waited for the spring, but had already crossed the Apennines and encamped at Faesulae, he was furious—as Hannibal had meant him to be—and resolved to make up for such a check at any cost. Only Hannibal could have managed the crossing. The ground at the foot of the mountains and along the Arno, through which his army had to march for nearly three days, was a mere morass covered knee-deep with water, for the snow had melted and the river overflowed its banks, so that every field was flooded. The march was terrible—the Gallic infantry had to be driven on by Mago and the cavalry in the rear. The only dry spot to sleep on at night was the dead body of some fallen pack-horse. Scurvy broke out among the men, and disease among the horses. Hannibal, who rode on the one elephant that survived, lost an eye from ophthalmia, to which there was no time to attend. But he had crossed the mountains.

Flaminius's army was not strong enough to risk a battle; for that he must wait till Servilius could join him. Hannibal marched right past him, while his soldiers plundered the country right and left, under his eyes and the eyes of the hosts of merchants he had brought

On the mountain heights, above the mists, it was clear ; and as soon as the whole of the Roman army had marched in, Hannibal gave the signal for attack all along the line. Instantly his men closed in upon the doomed army. Taken on every side at once, and utterly surprised, Flaminius and his men fought with Roman courage, but in vain. Only the vanguard, 6,000 men strong, cut their way out and reached the higher ground : as they looked back they saw their fellow soldiers, helplessly caught between the marshes and the lake, being struck down like driven deer. Those who threw themselves into the lake were drowned, for it was wide and they were laden with armour. As the mists rose the morning sun shone on Carthaginians everywhere. The entrapped army was cut to pieces. Fifteen thousand men fell and as many were taken prisoners. Even the 6,000 who had cut their way out were surrounded on their hill and compelled to give up their arms. Hannibal lost only 1,500 men, mostly Gauls. Two days later a body of 4,000, sent by Servilius to assist his fellow consul, were also captured.

The disaster was complete. A great army had been utterly lost, with its commander, for Flaminius was dead. There was grief and dismay in Rome, but not despair. The Senate made Fabius Maximus, Flaminius's great opponent, now an old man, dictator.

Etruria and Umbria were in the invader's hands ; but no one knew better than Hannibal that Rome was not conquered yet. He spent some weeks re-arming his men with the weapons taken at Trasimene, and improving the arrangements of the army in ways he had learned from the Romans. It was disappointing to him that town after town in Etruria and Umbria closed their gates upon him ; but he had better hopes of the south. Marching

past Rome, which he knew it would be hopeless to besiege, he made his way to Apulia. There in the warmer climate his men and horses could recover from the hard trials of the last year.

Fabius meantime had brought his army into the field and prepared to follow Hannibal, with a decided plan of his own in his head. He meant to wear Hannibal out by a policy of delay. This policy won for him the name 'Cunctator'—the delayer. It was much disliked at the time, but afterwards the Romans believed that Fabius had saved the State by it. Certainly delay harmed Hannibal. He wanted to defeat the Romans so thoroughly that the Italians would have the courage to rise and join him. All summer Fabius followed him about in Southern Italy and tried more than once to shut him up and cut him off from supplies. Once Hannibal escaped by fastening lighted faggots to the heads of a herd of cattle. Fabius's men followed them, thinking the Carthaginians must have set their camp on fire. Meantime Hannibal had led his men off in the opposite direction.

Another time Minucius, who was master of the horse in joint command with Fabius, would have lost his whole army had not the dictator come up in time to save him.

The year 217 came to an end; and at the end Hannibal's position was very much what it had been at the beginning. He had gained little, but he certainly had not been defeated.

At Rome there was a strong party that clamoured for a forward policy; their leader, Gaius Terentius Varro, a plebeian of low degree, was chosen consul, although he had shown no special ability as a soldier. Aemilius Paullus, the other consul, had done excellent service in the Illyrian war.

The army of Fabius remained encamped, waiting for

the consuls, who were enrolling new legions, while Hannibal plundered Apulia and captured the town of Cannae. In the town there was great provision of corn intended for the Roman army, and its citadel commanded the district round. Unhappily at this moment, when there was the greatest need that all good men should unite in defending their country, there was at Rome much jealousy between the Senate and the plebeians. The plebeians hated Fabius, a proud patrician, who showed his scorn of them and had always spoken against their laws, and Varro in particular had often opposed him. Fabius himself warned Aemilius Paullus that he must guard as much against the rashness of Varro as against Hannibal himself, although he would have done a better service in trying to remove, not to increase, the disunion of the generals.

Varro and
Aemilius
Paullus.

As a matter of fact, both Aemilius and Varro were eager for battle; but Aemilius saw, as soon as they came to the camp, that Hannibal had chosen a position, on a flat and open piece of ground, that was good for his cavalry but bad for the Romans. The Roman army was the largest that had ever yet been put into the field. The usual consular army was two legions of 10,000 men. This army had eight legions, that is, 80,000 men, and 6,000 cavalry. Its strength, however, lay in infantry, and the plain of Cannae was more favourable for cavalry, as Aemilius saw. Varro and Aemilius could not agree. Finally they decided to take command on alternate days.

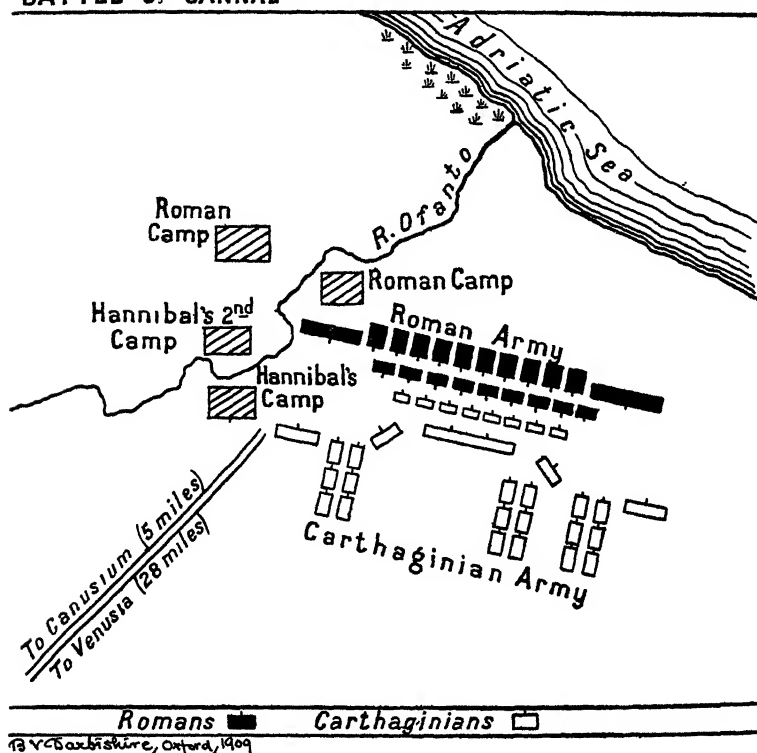
In a slight skirmish the Romans had the best of it; and next day, when Varro was in command, the soldiers saw, to their delight, the red flag, which was the signal for battle, flying above the general's tent.

Battle of
Cannae,
216.

The Roman infantry were arranged in a long, deep line with the lighter-armed men in front.

Hannibal drew his army up in the form of a crescent, the Gauls in front and the Libyans on the wings and behind the first line of Gauls. The Spanish cavalry were

BATTLE OF CANNAE



on the left, close to the river, the Numidians on the right. It was a brilliant day in August and the hot sun poured down upon the combatants.

First the Roman light-armed men advanced to the charge, and for some time they fought with the Gauls

without either side giving way or gaining ground. Then the cavalry on the Carthaginian left came up and, leaving their horses, joined in the struggle; and the Romans were driven back with severe loss. But the legions of heavy-armed men came on now, closing their ranks so as to charge in the form of a long, heavy wedge. The weight and force of this charge was irresistible, and it drove right through the Carthaginian centre. There, weight and force carried it too far: the Carthaginians had room to turn and close in so that they attacked the Romans upon both sides at once. Pressed in together, the Romans had no room to move: they were cut down in hundreds.

While this was happening in the centre, the Spanish cavalry had defeated the right wing under Paullus, and now came up to join the Numidians' attack on the Roman left under Varro. Their double charge was too much for the Roman cavalry; it broke up in wild confusion. All over the field the defeat became a rout. Flight was impossible, and quarter was neither asked for nor given. Never was so great an army so completely destroyed on the battlefield. Never did the vanquished lose so many and the victors so few.

Hannibal lost 6,000 men, two-thirds being Gauls, killed in the first meeting of the lines. Of 76,000 Romans who had fought in the battle the bodies of 70,000 lay upon the field. Among them was Aemilius Paullus, and with him two proconsuls, twenty-nine officers and eighty men of senatorial rank. The flower of Rome's noblest families lay dead. Varro alone of the higher officers escaped alive from the field of Cannae; with seventy horsemen he made his way to Venusia. The 10,000 who had been left to guard the Roman camp were nearly all taken prisoner. A seventh of all the men of military age in

Italy were dead. Rome had never known such a disaster in all her history.

At Venusia Varro showed an energy that in some degree made up for his former recklessness. He did not despair, but worked hard to collect the poor remains of an army. A handful had escaped to Canusium. These spoke desperately of starting afresh across the sea. Four young officers, among them young Scipio, drew their swords and forced the others to swear that they would not desert their country.

Rumours soon reached Rome of the great disaster. There was no family that had not lost son, father, or husband. The city had neither army nor general: the way seemed open to the invader.

But at this dark moment the Romans showed themselves greater than they had ever done in success and triumph. The strength of character supported them. Party hatreds were forgotten; even sorrow for the dead was not allowed to fill the minds of the mourners when every thought was needed for their country. And when Varro came to Rome to report what he had done at Venusia, those who before had hated and blamed him uttered no reproach. Instead, the Senate and people went in procession to meet him at the city gate, and in the presence of all he was thanked because in spite of defeat he had not despaired of the Republic.

Yet Hannibal still shook his head when his generals urged him to march on Rome. Even after Cannae, Rome was not conquered.

CHAPTER XII

HANNIBAL AND HASDRUBAL

After
Cannae.

HANNIBAL had always known that unless the Italians joined him Rome must conquer in the end. After Cannae Arpi in Apulia opened its gates; the Bruttii, most of the people of Lucania, the Picentes and Hirpini in southern Samnium—all those who kept some of the bitterness of the Samnite wars—rose and joined him; and, most important of all, Capua, the second city in Italy in wealth and size, placed itself on his side. But that was all. The people of middle Italy did not stir: colonies like Fregellae rather sent men and money to Rome of their own free will. Hannibal knew that it was out of fear rather than love that those who joined had done so; and those who were not frightened after Cannae could not be frightened by anything into deserting Rome.

Hannibal had the supreme mark of greatness—he could bear to see things as they were. He knew that it was no use to march on Rome if all Latium and Etruria rose against him. He had done his part: in less than three years he had destroyed three great Roman armies; he had marched from north to south in Italy, conquering and plundering; no Roman general had been able to stop him. His plan, as Hamilcar's, had been to conquer Rome by uniting the forces of the East against her. It was time for Carthage to send a fleet and men; for the king of Macedon, with whom Hannibal had made an alliance, to attack Rome on the east, and for his ally Hieronymus,

king of Syracuse, to do something in Sicily. His army had been wonderful; but he had lost many soldiers, and needed more men now that he had the South of Italy to defend. They could not come from Spain. There his brother Hasdrubal was hard-pressed by the Romans under Cnaeus and Publius Scipio. Hannibal sent Mago to Carthage to demand help. But the party of peace at any price was in power: the old selfish sluggishness that had nearly broken Hamilcar's heart ruled; the government were jealous of Hannibal, who was winning undying glory for the Carthaginian name. They did nothing. No help came.

Very different was the temper in Rome. There rich citizens came forward and lent money to the State for the equipment of new armies. The patricians and the men of means in the army refused all pay, and all who could afford it provided themselves with horses and armour at their own cost. Heavy taxes were placed upon property and borne without complaint.

Hitherto Rome had lacked first-rate generals. Fabius's policy could only succeed if he were general year after year, and that was not the Roman plan. But in Marcus Claudius Marcellus a soldier of the very type that was wanted appeared. He was a man of over fifty, who had fought Hamilcar in Sicily and triumphed over the Gauls. He was a rough, stern soldier, brave to recklessness in fighting, but a prudent and far-seeing general. In Rome he built a great temple to the gods of Honour and Courage; and in honour and courage he never failed. Later Romans thought little of him because his manners were those of the camp, and he knew nothing of art: but he was the right man at the moment.

Hannibal now made Capua his head-quarters. From there he marched out to attack the other cities of Cam-

pania. Nuceria was taken; and then Nola attacked. But Marcellus was in the city, and he marched his men out by three gates and drove the Carthaginians back with losses that, though not great, encouraged the Romans, who had begun to think Hannibal invincible.

215. Hannibal wintered in Capua, and the next year tried again to take Nola, and Cumae, both without success. He had no harbour, and needed one very badly.

War in
Sicily.

Siege of
Syracuse,
215-212.

Archimedes.

In this year war was going on in Sicily. Hieronymus had been assassinated, and two of Hannibal's envoys elected as generals in Syracuse. The people of Leontini made raids on the Roman territory. Marcellus had been made commander in Sicily. He took Leontini, executed 2,000 men who had joined the Carthaginians, and settled down to besiege Syracuse, where the Roman party had been massacred. The town was naturally of immense strength, and protected by a chain of fortifications and lofty walls. Moreover, within the town there was an engineer of the most brilliant genius, the great Archimedes. He invented all sorts of engines and machines for defence, such as the Romans had never seen before. There was a vast crane which lifted ships bodily out of the harbour and swung them into the town, or dashed them down so that they were smashed to atoms; another swung forward a beam which broke through anything it came against; another threw out huge stones and aimed them perfectly at any distance. These engines alone defended the city so well that Marcellus saw that a blockade was his only chance. Meantime a Carthaginian army took Agrigentum, and most of the towns in Sicily threw off the Roman yoke. At last Marcellus took the heights of Epipolae, above the city, and there escaped from the mists that rise in the evening from the swamps round the city and breed deadly fevers. The Carthaginian army that came to help

Syracuse was destroyed by these fevers, and the town left to its fate. At last after three years it fell; the Romans were admitted by the treachery of an officer. The soldiers plundered the beautiful city ruthlessly. Among those killed was Archimedes. Deep in a problem in geometry, he sat in his study, not knowing or caring what was happening in the outer world. Suddenly he felt a hand on his shoulder, and a soldier ordered him to come before Marcellus. 'I must finish my problem,' said the mathematician. The enraged soldier killed him on the spot. The magnificent works of Greek art, of which the city was full, were carried off to Rome by Marcellus to adorn his triumph.

Fall of
Syracuse,
212.

The rest of the Sicilian towns were easily reduced—and the island seemed lost. But Hannibal's keen eye was on it from afar. He sent over an officer of his Libyan cavalry, whom he had raised from the ranks, named Mutines. He knew his man. Mutines carried on a skirmishing war with great success, baffled the Romans, and might have kept them at bay for a long time had not the stupid jealousy of the Carthaginian officers caused him to be removed after two years of splendid service. When Mutines was gone the war was at an end. Sicily was Roman again.

Mutines,
212-210

210.

Hannibal meantime had been looking round for a harbour. Finally he attacked Tarentum. But there was a Roman garrison in the town under M. Livius, and a year passed without success. Precious time was lost, and the people of the Lucanian towns began to go back to Rome.

214.

213.

Meantime a party in Tarentum plotted to admit Hannibal. Livius dined late; one evening traitors within opened the gate and Hannibal marched in. The garrison were slain. Livius managed to escape

212.

212-209. across the harbour to the citadel that commanded it; and this citadel he defended bravely. It was almost unassailable, and Hannibal tried in vain to take it. Without it, he still had no harbour.

The Romans meantime were closing round Capua. Hannibal had wintered at Arpi. His army was too small to defend both Tarentum and Capua; he chose Tarentum.

213. Meantime Fabius the younger ruthlessly pillaged Campania, and the next year, when Hannibal entered Tarentum, two great Roman armies encamped outside Capua. Hannibal marched to meet them, but they would not fight; and he had to return to defend Apulia, which was being plundered by Cnaeus Fulvius. At Herdonea Hannibal defeated him utterly, and cut his army to pieces.

212. Siege of Capua. The siege of Capua had now begun in earnest, and lines of blockade were built round the town. All through the winter and the spring the two consuls—Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius, who had been appointed 'till Capua should be taken'—drew the lines closer and closer. Within, provisions were running very short. At 211. last a Numidian soldier made his way through the lines and carried an appeal for help to Hannibal. Although Tarentum was not yet taken, the great general obeyed the call. If Capua fell, all Campania would be lost, and the Italians would feel that Hannibal could not defend them against Rome.

With all speed he marched north, attacked the Roman lines, and took one of the three camps. He could not break through the blockade, however, and had to retreat after heavy losses on both sides. His army was not big enough to risk a battle.

Hannibal marches to Rome. Since he could not relieve Capua by breaking through, Hannibal resolved to try to draw one of the blockading

armies away by marching on Rome. He crossed the Volturnus and was on his way before any attempt could be made to stop him. A messenger from Fregellae, riding night and day, warned the Romans that the terrible Carthaginian was drawing near. In Rome the alarm was great, for Hannibal seemed something more than human. But the citizens' courage did not fail. The armies that were going to Spain and Macedonia were in the city, and Fulvius Flaccus came up with a detachment from Capua and encamped near the Colline Gate. Hannibal offered battle, but two violent storms came one after another and prevented it. They seemed to the Romans to be sent as warnings from the gods. He then turned and marched swiftly back to Capua: Appius with his army had never left the blockade. For Capua Hannibal could do nothing more. He marched rapidly across to the coast, down into Apulia, almost taking Rhegium on the way. For miles round the land was laid waste.

Capua meantime had fallen. The citizens held out to the last, for they knew that they had sinned heavily against Rome and would be heavily punished; but they had to surrender in the end. Twenty-seven of the senators took poison: the others opened the gates; they were executed. No mercy was shown to the proud city. The nobles lost all their land and money, and were imprisoned; the citizens were sold as slaves; the land was taken by the Roman state, and all the public buildings. Only workmen and labourers were left in the town; and a Roman governor was sent to rule over it. Capua had been the second city in Italy; it was now a mere market town.

Hannibal meantime was driven further and further south. His army, which had received no reinforcements, was not large enough to divide, and while he was trying

Fall of
Capua,
211.

in vain to take the citadel of Tarentum, the towns that had joined him after Cannae one by one went back, and he could not prevent it.

209. Marcellus, again consul, marched down into Apulia and kept Hannibal busy there, while old Fabius Cunctator advanced on Tarentum.

Canusium. At Canusium Marcellus and Hannibal met and fought on three following days. Marcellus was beaten, but he had gained his object. Hannibal was delayed, and was too late to save Tarentum. One of the Bruttian garrison he had left in the town loved the sister of a Roman soldier ; and to please her he let the Romans in. Fabius sold all the citizens into slavery, and carried away vast stores of gold and silver. Afterwards Livius said in the Senate, ' I, and not Fabius, was the cause of recovering Tarentum.' Fabius laughed. ' True,' he said, ' for if you had not lost it, I should never have recovered it.'

Fall of Tarentum.
208. Next year Marcellus was resolved to finish the war. In Rome great preparations were made, and twenty-one legions sent out. It seemed impossible Hannibal could hold out much longer. Only his unconquerable courage and genius as a commander had held the field so long unaided. He was encamped near Croton, and Marcellus and Crispinus, the other consul, were confident of success and eager for battle, the more so after 2,500 men were lost in an ambush laid by the unresting Carthaginian. Between the two armies was a hill covered with thickets, and the Romans wondered that Hannibal had not used so good an encampment. Hannibal, whom nothing escaped, saw that the knoll was even better as an ambush. Among the thickets he hid a great number of soldiers and spearmen, and placed a sentinel on the top.

Death of Marcellus. As he had expected, Marcellus set out to view the knoll, taking with him his son, Crispinus, and a small

party of Tuscans and men from Fregellae. As soon as the little party came near enough, the men in ambush rushed out, let fly a shower of arrows, and fell upon them with swords and spears. They were killed almost to a man. Crispinus was so severely wounded that he died soon afterwards, and Marcellus perished on the spot.

In Hannibal's whole nature there was nothing mean; he admired a great enemy. When Marcellus's body was brought to his camp he looked silently at the man who had fought so hard and long against him, then ordered the body to be magnificently attired and burned with due rites. The ashes were placed in a silver urn, crowned with gold, and sent to Marcellus the younger.

Marcellus's death was a great loss to the Romans. He had seen that every year without victories was a defeat to Hannibal, and while Marcellus led the Romans Hannibal had gained nothing. His case indeed seemed hopeless. Unless help came, he could do no more. For eleven years his small force had kept the whole might of Rome at bay. Carthage would do nothing; but rumours had come to Rome that at last his brother Hasdrubal was on his way from Spain to help him.

In Spain Publius and Cnaeus Cornelius Scipio had ^{Spain,} fought for Rome with good success. Their first care was ²¹⁸⁻²⁰⁸ to guard the Pyrenees so that no help might get across to Hannibal, and more than one army had been driven back. In the year of Cannae (216) they carried the Roman arms into Southern Spain, and recaptured Saguntum: the next year they reached the Pillars of Hercules. While they pressed the Carthaginians thus hard in Spain, the Scipios also attacked them in Africa by making an alliance with Syphax, the mighty ruler of that part which is now called Algeria. Syphax raised a rebellion among the Libyans that frightened the

Carthaginian government so much that they sent for Hasdrubal to bring his army home from Spain and defeat Syphax. Hasdrubal came and made an alliance with Gala, Syphax's rival in North-West Africa. Syphax was crushed, and when Hasdrubal returned to Spain Gala's son Masannasa came with him, bringing a large body of Numidians; also Mago his brother, sent by Hannibal for help which the Carthaginians would not give.

There were now three Carthaginian armies in Spain—one under Hasdrubal, one under Mago, and another under Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo. To meet them the Scipios enrolled a large force of Spaniards, but they all deserted to the Barcas. Publius Scipio was defeated and killed. Cnaeus, shut in by three armies, suffered the same fate.

All Spain south of the Ebro was once more in Carthaginian hands. The Romans sent Claudius Nero with another army, but though a good officer he was harsh, the Spaniards disliked him, and Spain remained unconquered.

The Senate did not fail to understand the great importance of the war in Spain. Hasdrubal would use his success to come to his brother's rescue. To prevent this, they resolved to appoint a special commander to finish the war. But who was it to be? Marcellus was dead, Fabius too old, Nero not the man for Spain. Moreover, there seemed to most young generals less chance of glory in Spain than against Hannibal.

Publius
Cornelius
Scipio.

At last a young man came forward, tall and fair, with modest blushes at his own daring, and asked to be sent to avenge the death of his father and uncle. This was Publius Cornelius Scipio, who had saved his father's life on the Trebia. He was now twenty-four; but there was something about him that filled the people with con-

fidence, though he had had little experience. They thought him the favourite of the gods; and in truth all his life his luck never failed him. He made mistakes that would have ruined other men, and they became new causes of success. He was always sure of himself; this made him calm in danger, and prudent at all times, and prevented his ever feeling envy or jealousy. He was educated to the highest pitch in art, taste, and letters.

In 210 he sailed for Spain with a splendid army and a full purse. With extraordinary daring he at once attacked the chief Carthaginian stronghold, New Carthage, and took it by a sudden fierce attack on land and sea. The town had a splendid harbour, and the richest silver mines in the world. It was a most valuable capture.

Fall of
New
Carthage.

209.

But Scipio's first task was to guard the Pyrenees. Late in the spring of the following year he marched south into Baetica, where he met Hasdrubal Barca on his northward march. A battle took place. The result was doubtful, but Hasdrubal continued his march; he had the best of his troops with him, great stores of gold, and some elephants. Rapidly marching north, he reached the sea, and crossed the Pyrenees by the western pass, which he found unguarded. Before winter and the bad season came on, he was in Gaul, among friendly tribes, and in Gaul he spent the winter. Scipio had neglected his first duty. He had allowed Hasdrubal to cross the Pyrenees.

208

Hasdrubal.

Hasdrubal was a worthy son of Hamilcar and brother of Hannibal. He spent the winter collecting allies and hiring mercenaries, and when the snows melted in the spring he crossed the Alps by the easiest pass. He was better provided with guides than his brother had been; the pass was less steep, and the weather less severe. Before any one expected him, he was in Italy.

207.

Before any preparations had been made to stop him, his army was on the Po and he was besieging Placentia.

LIVIUS and
Nero.

The consuls that year were Marcus Livius Salinator and Titus Claudius Nero—men who hated one another. In this hour of danger, however, the aged Fabius, wiser than he had once been, persuaded them to forget their quarrels. Livius took the northern district and prepared to meet Hasdrubal; Nero marched south to attack Hannibal, who was encamped in Lucania. No message had as yet come to him from Hasdrubal, but he knew that he was in Italy, and was ready at any moment to march to meet him. Nero's army was stronger, and won several skirmishes; but in spite of them Hannibal moved on and marched past Nero in the night to Venusia.

Meantime messengers were on the way. Four Gallic horsemen were riding to tell Hannibal that his brother was at Ariminum, and marching south through Umbria. They galloped hard, but lost their way, were captured and brought before Nero. Nero at once resolved to march north and join Livius—one army might not be enough to defeat Hasdrubal, as Nero knew, for he had fought him in Spain. Legally he ought not to leave his district, but this was no moment for legal forms. He dispatched a messenger to Livius, who was at Sena. Livius sent back instructions to come by night that Hasdrubal might suspect nothing.

Nero left his camp at Venusia defended so that Hannibal should not know he was gone; and in the night his army joined that of Livius on the Metaurus.

Hasdrubal was too old a soldier not to see that the enemy's army had grown in the night. He espied signs of a long march in the shabby accoutrements and tired horses of many of the battalions; and from the tent of the consul he heard two trumpets sound the morning

call. What had happened he could not guess; but he feared some great misfortune: that Hannibal had been slain or that his letter had been intercepted. The army that now faced him was far greater than his own. In the night he broke up his camp, resolved to march sideways away from the Romans, then to the south. But in the darkness his guides deserted him. He did not know how the land lay. Across the river no ford could be found. Day broke and the Carthaginians were still on the same side of the winding river. As Hasdrubal marched further and further away from the sea, the banks got steeper, and the crossing more difficult, and the enemy came up with him before he had got very far. His men were weary with the night march, and he was in a bad position; but with the skill of a fine general he made the best of it. For a long time the battle raged without any decided issue. But the Romans were much stronger in the numbers and freshness of their men. Finally Nero, who had been cut off by a hill, wheeled his men right across, behind the Roman line, so that they attacked Hasdrubal's veterans in the rear, while Livius assailed them in front. This decided the day. Hasdrubal and his men fought on, but they were enclosed. Hasdrubal himself was the soul of the fight, and showed the most heroic courage. He seemed to be everywhere at once. He cheered on the resolute, encouraged the weary, held firm by his example any who might have tried to flee. But all was lost. When he saw that there was no longer any hope, he charged into the centre of the enemy and met the death of a soldier, sword in hand. Ten thousand of his men shared his fate. The gold he was bringing to his brother fell into Roman hands.

Battle of
the
Metaurus,
207.

Death of
Hasdrubal.

Hannibal had had no news. He was still at Venusia when Nero returned. Nero behaved in a manner very

unlike his generous enemy. Hannibal had buried Aemilius Paullus and Marcellus with the honours of war; he scorned to avenge himself on the dead. Nero threw the bleeding head of Hasdrubal in front of his brother's lines. When Hannibal saw it, he knew that all was over; he had lost his brother and the hope of conquering Rome. For a moment he hid his face in his mantle. A few days later he withdrew with his army to the Lacinian promontory.

Hannibal
goes to
Lacinium.

CHAPTER XIII

SCIPIO AFRICANUS

WHEN Hannibal saw the bloody head of his brother he knew that the fortune of Carthage was at an end. For four more years he held his ground in Southern Italy like a lion at bay: the remnants of his army remained unshakably devoted to the last. No Roman army, no Roman general, was able to defeat him or to force him to leave Italy. When he did leave it, after fourteen years of ceaseless war, it was because the needs of Carthage called him home, because in Africa, as well as in Italy, Sicily, and Spain, the fortune of Carthage was at an end.

It need not have been so, had the base Carthaginian government sent help to him in time. But after the battle of the Metaurus it was too late.

In Rome, when news of the death of Hasdrubal came, men breathed again. Soon the Senate saw that to finish the war they must attack Carthage in Africa. But at the moment every one was weary of fighting and exhausted by the long struggle. The treasury was at a very low ebb: it was not easy to raise new legions: the only general equal to the task was Scipio, and Scipio had not finished his work in Spain.

Scipio had made a great mistake in letting Hasdrubal Scipio go; but he did good work in Spain. New Carthage made a splendid centre, and the charm of his character won over the tribes to his side. Almost all Spain was

in Roman hands again, when the Carthaginians suddenly roused themselves. Masannasa was sent over with his
 Ilipa, 206. Numidians to join Hasdrubal Gisco, and Mago. At Ilipa, however, Scipio defeated their joint army, and marched south as far as Gades. All Spain was now in his hands. Mago removed his army to Minorca, whence he prepared to sail for Italy; Hasdrubal returned to Africa.

Syphax.
 Masan-
 nasa.

Scipio next crossed to Africa, and made a new alliance with Syphax; Masannasa, too, came over to the winning side, and promised to assist Scipio with his cavalry when he landed in Africa for the war against Carthage. Scipio was eager to finish the war. He was, indeed, the only man popular enough to rouse the people to do so. Fabius was too old, Livius and Nero were aristocrats of a haughty and unpleasing type. Scipio was the darling of the people, and they elected him with one voice to carry on the war. The Senate was less enthusiastic. Scipio, with his Greek education and disregard for old-fashioned ways, was a new kind of man, and they did not quite trust him. He was given Sicily as his province, and the two legions that were there as his army. He might cross to Africa if 'he thought it necessary for the Republic', and raise legions if he could.

205. This was enough for Scipio. Towns in Etruria and Sicily that had shown signs of disloyalty were compelled to pay for a fleet. An army of 7,000 volunteers was soon collected. Scipio sailed for Sicily, and spent the autumn in collecting arms, stores, and provisions, and in disciplining and training his army. His friend Laelius ravaged the coasts of Africa.

Scipio sails
 for Africa,
 204.

In the spring of 204 Scipio sailed for Africa, and landed near Utica.

Carthage.

In Carthage there was great alarm, though the attack had been foreseen. Syphax had been won over by mar-

riage with Sophonisba, daughter of Hasdrubal Gisco; and soon after he drove Masannasa out of his lands, so that the Numidian had no army to give the Romans. A Carthaginian army of 20,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry, and 47 elephants was in the field under Hasdrubal, and 50,000 more under Syphax. This great force compelled Scipio to spend the winter on the hill from which he was blockading Utica; and all through the winter ambassadors came and went between the camps with terms of peace. Scipio's envoys took careful note of all they saw, the arrangement of the camp, and the placing of sentries. The Carthaginian watch was careless, for it seemed as if peace were to be concluded between the generals. But one dark evening, as the bugles were sounding for supper, Scipio marched his men through the dusk to the enemies' camps, about seven miles off. Each was armed with a torch. Soon the whole encampment was in flames, for the season had been dry, the huts were of wood, and there was much straw and fodder lying about. On a sudden the sky was lit up, and great columns of smoke were seen rising. The men rushed out, unarmed, on the alarm of fire. Hundreds perished in the flames, were trampled to death in the panic, or killed by Scipio's soldiers. The horses rushed wildly about in the small space, killing those who fell. The panic was terrible, and more men fell than in a battle. Hasdrubal and Syphax cut their way out, but few others escaped out of their great armies.

Burning of
the Car-
thaginian
camps,
203.

Scipio had gained his end, though by means that were hardly honourable. He was no longer shut up in Utica, but master of the field, and free to march on Carthage, which seemed lost indeed. But, as in the time of Regulus, the spirits of the Carthaginians rose with the danger. The war party was in power, and would not hear of peace. Syphax was collecting a new army; the town

had money, and Hasdrubal soon gathered 4,000 Celtiberians and a body of Macedonians.

Battle on
the Great
Plains,
203.

Within a month another Carthaginian army took the field on the 'Great Plains', five days' march from Utica. Scipio hastened to meet them. He had been reinforced from Sicily and Spain, and the Senate had made him commander till the war was finished. He left part of his army before Utica, and advanced to battle. The Romans won a complete victory; the Celtiberians fought gallantly, but could not stand against the legions.

After the battle Hasdrubal dared not return to Carthage, for the government had condemned him to death. Syphax fled to Numidia, whither he was pursued by Laelius and Masannasa. Scipio encamped at Tunis, within sight of the walls of Carthage.

Still, the patriotic party in the town were resolved not to submit. Carthage possessed the greatest general living—while he lived they need not despair. While the peace party were sending ambassadors back and forward, the others sent to Italy to call Hannibal and Mago to their aid.

Mago,
206-203.

Three years before (206) Mago had landed at Genoa and called the Ligurians and the other Gauls to arms. He had gold, and soon collected an army—not strong enough yet to march south. When the message of recall reached him he was near Mediolanum, in the land of the Insubres. There he was met by two Roman armies. The Roman cavalry was driven back and their infantry so hard-pressed that the day was almost won, when, in the hottest of the fray, Mago himself was severely wounded. Without their leader the army was lost. The Romans were much more numerous, and the day ended in a victory for them. Mago himself died of his wounds near Sardinia in the ship that was

Battle at
Mediola-
num, 203.

bearing him to Carthage, and most of his fleet was captured.

Hannibal, still invincible, had the year before defeated the consul Sempronius Tuditanus, and driven him back to his camp with the loss of 1,200 men. He was no nearer being defeated than four years before. Now the country that had so often refused to help him called to him. All he had won was gone for nothing. His brilliant victories and long endurance were fruitless. Carthage, which might have conquered Rome, was threatened with disaster. Hannibal's nature was too great for vain regrets or weak reproaches. He obeyed the call. His ships were ready at Croton, and he embarked with his veterans. Thirty-six years ago he had left his country as a boy of nine years old; he had gone through Spain, Gaul, and the whole of Italy in order to return to it.

Hannibal
called
home, 203

He at once began to gather an army and make alliances with the Numidian princes. The peace party had failed to make terms, and with Hannibal in the town there could be no question of peace. The Carthaginians were fighting for their lives.

Scipio marched inland, burning and destroying. Massinasa again joined him. The Carthaginians were eager for battle. Hannibal was at Hadrumetum, drilling raw recruits. He told the messengers, sent by the Senate to urge him to take the field, 'to look after their own affairs and let him choose the time for fighting'. Soon afterwards he moved inland, and pitched his camp near Zama, five days' march from Carthage. Scipio encamped not far off, and the two generals met and talked together.

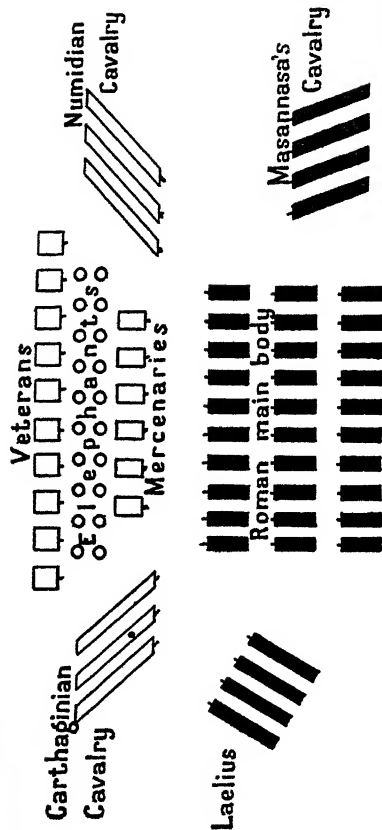
202.

Meeting of
Hannibal
and Scipio.

A few days later the battle of Zama took place, and ended the war once for all. It was decided by the superiority of

Battle of
Zama, 202

BATTLE OF ZAMA



Romans ■ Carthaginians □

By Victor Biskup, Oxford, 1904

the Roman soldiers. Hannibal's cavalry was defeated on both wings by the Numidians under Masannasa. In the centre the fighting was for a long time very even, but the raw Carthaginians and mercenaries were no match for the disciplined Romans. The Carthaginians lost courage, and the mercenaries, finding they were not backed up, threw their swords on the men behind them, Carthaginians and Libyans, and thus, while the Romans pressed on, the opposing line was in confusion. The hardest fighting of the day came when Hannibal's veterans met the Roman legionaries. It was a death-grapple. Not one of the veterans yielded an inch; all who fell, fell in their places; they could not be driven back. Finally, the day was decided by the Numidian cavalry, which came up victorious from the wings and attacked Hannibal's rear; 20,000 men fell fighting on the Carthaginian side, and nearly as many were captured: the Romans only lost 1,500. Hannibal's camp was taken by Scipio, his army destroyed. He himself escaped to Carthage. But all was over. The Carthaginians had done all that was possible. They could not collect another army. They had to ask for terms. Hannibal had always faced the truth: he saw now that there was no choice.

Scipio's terms were worthy of a generous adversary. *Terms.* Carthage had to give up all foreign possessions, but she was left a nation and free. She had her own laws and her own government, and no Roman garrison. All the elephants were to be handed over, and all men-of-war save twenty. No war was to be waged outside of Africa, and none within save by the permission of Rome. Masannasa was to be restored to his kingdom. A hundred hostages were to be given, and £2,400,000 aid over within fifty years.

The conditions were hard, for Carthage would be

constantly raided and annoyed by the native princes, among whom Masannasa was too powerful already to be a comfortable neighbour; but they were not unjust. Hannibal plainly told his countrymen they might be thankful that the terms were not harder. Scipio had no mean desire to trample the conquered in the dust. To conquer Carthage was glorious, but not to destroy it.

Peace. The Carthaginians accepted the terms, and priests were sent from Rome to make peace with due religious rites. The Carthaginian fleet of 500 vessels was burned; Masannasa was enthroned.

Result of the War. The Hannibalic War was at an end. Spain was a Roman province; Sicily was wholly Roman, for Syracuse was no longer free; the tribes of Africa looked to Rome, and not to Carthage, as their overlord. Carthage had sunk from a great world-power to a mere city. Rome was mistress of the Mediterranean. She had not started the war for the sake of conquest; but when it ended she was the strongest power in the western world. Hannibal had seen that there was room only for one power in the Mediterranean, and had tried to make that power Carthage and not Rome, the Semitic and not the Aryan

Reasons. race. He had failed because of the weakness of his nation and the government that led it. He is himself a heroic figure, and in the failure of his great attempt there is something tragic, for he showed all the qualities that make a man great. But the Roman people had more to give the world than the Carthaginians had. No one Roman showed such a genius as Hannibal; but the Roman nation was a greater nation than the Carthaginian

In Italy there was peace at last. The country had suffered severely. In Rome a quarter of the whole roll of citizens had perished during the war; more

than 300,000 men had fallen in battle. The Senate lost half its numbers. And the country suffered as much as the town. Over 400 flourishing towns or villages were destroyed; the fields were ruined in every direction. Robbers made the roads dangerous. Camp life for so long had bad effects. The old simple ways of life began to disappear. Cheap coin from Spain, Sicily, and Africa ruined the farmers; and cheap slaves, that were brought in thousands after every campaign, made employment hard to get for the time.

But for the moment there was nothing but rejoicing in the peace. As Scipio made his way from Rhegium to Rome, the people came out and lined the roads as he passed, hailing him as the saviour of his country, the conqueror of Hannibal. When he reached Rome he entered the city in triumph, and laid his wreath of laurel and olive-branches in the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter. Magnificent games lasted for several days. In honour of his victories he bore henceforth the name of Africanus.

CHAPTER XIV

ROME AND GREECE

ROME had not entered on the Punic Wars for the sake of conquest ; but the conquests that had been made had to be maintained. Spain, the most important of them, was the beginning of the great Roman Empire beyond the seas.

Spain. Scipio had driven the Carthaginians out of Spain ; but the country was by no means at peace. It was inhabited by a great number of fierce and warlike tribes, who were perpetually at war with one another except when they joined against the Romans.

In the east and south the peoples had been settled in Spain for many generations, and had a long history and a civilization of their own which they did not want to give up. But after the first struggle they soon learned to take on Roman ways and manners. Roman money was used, much Latin was spoken. Among these tribes agriculture flourished, and the rich soil produced corn, fruit, and vines in abundance. But among the wilder, ruder inhabitants of the north and west the men lived for battle. All private disputes were settled by hand-to-hand fighting. The women looked down on any but fighters, and encouraged their husbands and sons in war and deeds of daring. Robbers and highwaymen made the roads unsafe. Had the tribes joined together, they would have been really dangerous. As it was, it was easy enough to win victories over them, but impossible to

conquer them. They were often most dangerous after they seemed crushed.

To settle this part of the country seemed impossible. A standing army had to be kept in Spain; four legions had to go there every year. The planting of colonies might have Romanized the country, but neither the Italian people nor the Roman government were ready for that. General after general was sent out. In 197 there had been a rising in which the Roman commander was killed: after him came Marcus Porcius Cato, the justest Cato. of men, but ruthless and harsh. He boasted of having destroyed 400 fortresses in Northern Spain; but he did nothing to make the Spaniards feel any affection for the Roman government. The only man who did that was Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who came twenty years Gracchus. later. Cato had crushed the rebels, but filled them with hatred and revenge. Gracchus understood and cared for the Spanish people as Hamilcar had done. He tried to win them over by kindness and education, and saw that they must be governed according to Spanish ideas. He settled the land question and cleared away the highwaymen.

But, all in all, Spain gave the Romans as much trouble and expense as advantage. The advantages were the rich iron and silver mines and the splendid trading ports. Moreover, it was necessary to keep any other power from seizing Spain as Carthage had done.

There was not much danger from Carthage now. Carthage. On every side Masannasa was increasing his kingdom, so as to shut Carthage in. The Carthaginians appealed again and again to Rome, but in vain. Masannasa was a Roman ally, under Roman protection; he was there to keep Carthage helpless. Carthage was helpless enough. The fear of Roman invasion hung like a sword of

Hannibal. Damocles over the head of the wretched city. So long as Hannibal was in Carthage the Romans feared him; and Hannibal was at the head of the patriotic party. His great spirit was not broken; it was now turned to the huge task of reforming the home government. The treasury was so wonderfully managed by him that the war debt was paid off without any extra taxes. The bad government of the few rich men was overthrown, and a new popular government elected.

But the jealous eyes of Rome were watching, full of fear. Wars were threatening in the East—in Macedonia and in Asia, and they were afraid of what Hannibal might do. Six years after the peace an embassy was sent to Carthage to demand that Hannibal should be handed over. His enemies at home had told the Romans he was dangerous. In the Senate Scipio had declared it to be unworthy of the Roman people to fear one man in a ruined state; but he had spoken in vain. Hannibal spared Carthage the disgrace of giving him up by fleeing to Asia. His house was destroyed, his goods seized, and he himself declared an exile for ever.

Rome and
the East.

Greece.

Rome, as mistress of the Mediterranean, became entangled in the affairs of the great powers of the East. At the same time she was drawn eastwards by the keen interest with which the learning and literature of Greece were being studied. Men like Scipio and Laelius, Tiberius Gracchus and Quintus Flaminius, were not certain, as the earlier Romans had been, that all that was good came from Rome. They read the great plays and poetry and philosophy of the Greeks, and were filled with deep admiration. While the Romans had been barbarians and mere soldiers it seemed that the Greeks had known everything, understood everything. They had fought for freedom, and driven back

eastern invaders hundreds of years ago. But Greece was no longer what it had been. Athens and Sparta were now small cities of little importance. The Aetolians were mere bandits, and yet the Aetolian league and the Achaean league were the only strong powers in Greece, except Macedonia.

Nearly 150 years ago Alexander of Macedon had ^{Macedonia.} conquered a vast empire reaching from Greece to India. For a few years he had ruled over Asia Minor, Lydia, ^{Alexander's} Phrygia, Cappadocia, Armenia, Syria, Media, Persia, ^{Empire.} and Egypt, and made all the known world of the East into one Greek Empire. But when he died his empire fell to pieces, and in the last hundred years it had been divided more and more.

In Asia Minor there was a number of independent states, rich from their trade; and all along the Greek coast there were trading towns, more or less free. Three great kingdoms remained, for ever jealous of each other. The largest and weakest was Asia. Antiochus ^{Antiochus} was lord of vast lands, so vast that he had to give ^{of Asia.} them over to governors called 'satraps', who did much as they chose in their own dominions and were always trying to make themselves kings. In Asia there was perpetual war with border tribes, and with the Celts who had swept down from Northern Thessaly.

Palestine and many places on the coast belonged ^{Egypt.} to the second great kingdom, Egypt. The rulers of Egypt and Asia hated one another. In Egypt, as in Asia, the king was a despot, the people were slaves; but in Egypt a line of powerful kings had made the state rich and strong. The rulers of Asia were for ever trying to win back all the Empire that had once been Alexander's, while they did not really hold the lands that were their own: the rulers of Egypt, on the

contrary, had kept within their boundaries and made Egypt a strong, rich, and self-contained kingdom. After the fall of Carthage Alexandria was the first trading centre of the world. The Egyptian navy ruled the southern Mediterranean and the islands. The position of the country made it almost impossible to attack. The army was well managed. The fields of the rich Nile valley belonged to the royal house of Ptolemy, and their wealth was enormous, but wisely used. Art and science were encouraged; mathematicians and engineers made splendid ships and batteries of war. The Alexandrian library was the most wonderful in the world.

Macedonia. The third kingdom was Alexander's own—that of Macedonia. Macedonia was not what it had been. The Illyrian and Celtic barbarians had swept over it in hordes; these wars and Alexander's had carried off immense numbers of the people, so that the country was empty, and a really big army could never be collected. But Macedonia had recovered with wonderful courage. In some respects the people were like the Romans; they were magnificent soldiers and devoted to their native land. The Macedonian phalanx had hardly ever been defeated in battle. They were a rough and hardy race, mountain dwellers, free of speech and strong of hand. They despised the people of the East as slaves, and scorned the Greeks for spending their time in games and study. They were free men, though the king's word was law.

Philip of Macedon. In 215 Philip of Macedon, who had come to the throne three years before at the age of seventeen, had made an alliance with Hannibal. The other states in Greece, always jealous of Macedon, had joined Rome. But Philip did very little for Hannibal, though he could have helped him greatly. He was a good soldier, but at this stage of

**First
Macedo-
nian War,
214-205.**

his life both lazy and careless; and, after some fighting with the Romans in Illyria he made peace with Rome three years before the battle of Zama. Philip believed that whatever he did was right; rules were for other men, not for him. He broke his own promises without shame. He used to say that he feared none but the gods, but his cruelty and faithlessness proved that he did not fear them. His temper was ungovernable, and he executed or exiled any one who tried to cross his will. Stupid he was not: when he liked he could show great charm of manner; but he had no reverence for anything. It was a base envy of Hannibal's greatness that made him a bad ally to the Carthaginians. 205.

Soon after his treaty with Rome Philip formed an alliance with Antiochus of Asia, who had taken the name of the 'Great', to attack Egypt. The king had died, and his son Ptolemy was only five years old. Alliance with Antiochus.

Philip began by attacking the Cyclades Islands; he then crossed to the Asiatic side of the Hellespont and, without any excuse, sacked two towns there allied to the Aetolians, Cius and Chalcedon. Cius, which resisted, was razed to the ground, and all its inhabitants sold as slaves. Sack of Cius.

This act horrified the whole Greek world. The courageous people of the small sea state of Rhodes resolved to defend the island against the Macedonian king. Byzantium and Pergamum joined Rhodes, and their united fleet followed Philip and compelled him to fight a naval battle off the island of Chios, in which he lost nearly half his vessels. Soon after another battle took place off Lade on the coast of Caria. Philip had slightly the best of the day, but he was prevented all winter from returning to Macedonia, although his provisions ran very short. Battle of Chios. Battle of Lade, 201.

A storm was brewing in the west. The news of the destruction of Cius was received with indignation in Rome. The Senate saw that Rome could not look on while Macedon grew so powerful, still less while Greek cities were destroyed in time of peace. Rome claimed to be the protectress of the Greeks; they were more akin to her than any other people. Pergamum was an ally, and had assisted Rome in the first war with Philip off the Illyrian coasts.

Thus, though the Roman people was weary of war, Philip's behaviour roused them. After sacking Abydos, which fell after a heroic defence, he attacked Attica, and
200. marched against Athens itself. Evidently his aim was the conquest of Greece. Athens held out, but Philip laid waste the country for miles round.

199 A Roman army landed in Epirus and ravaged south-
198. west Macedonia; and in the following year the command was taken by Quintus Flamininus, a young man of thirty, who was full of enthusiastic admiration for everything Greek. He thought of Greece as it had been in the glorious days of Pericles: he forgot that the Greece of the day was very different. He was resolved to win for Rome the glory of freeing Greece from Macedonian rule. Besides being a good officer, he was a tactful statesman.

Flamini-
nus.

Flamininus at once marched to attack Macedonia. Philip, at the head of his army, was guarding the mountainous passes on the valley of the River Aous, which barred the way into Macedonia. The generals met in an interview, but no terms could be reached, and for forty days the armies faced one another. Philip had chosen his ground well: he was protected by the ridges of the hills, and to attack him where he was, or to get him to move, seemed equally hopeless.

At last a man of Epirus offered to show Flaminius a path by which the Romans could get round behind the enemy. Flaminius sent 4,000 picked infantry and 300 horsemen. While they moved away the Macedonians were kept busy skirmishing, so that nothing was observed of their movements.

Two days passed. Then, early in the morning, Flaminius's sentries saw smoke rising behind the Macedonian army. This was the signal; and the Roman general at once gave the order for battle. Philip was delighted, for he thought that victory was in his hand; and when the Romans marched right up into the narrow gorge his men thought they had them in a trap. Suddenly they found they were themselves entrapped, for they were attacked from behind and in front at once. A panic seized them and they tried to flee. Great numbers were cut down where they stood, for in the pass escape was not easy; but pursuit was equally difficult, and Philip, who had fled to Tempe, found he still had an army.

The Greeks now rose to join Flaminius. Philip had ravaged Thessaly, in order to leave him without supplies, but everywhere the towns welcomed the Romans as their saviours, and they had no difficulty in getting provisions. Corinth and Argos stood by Philip, but the Achaeans, his former allies, went over to Rome.

Flaminius spent the winter in Greece, until a messenger came from Philip, inviting him to a congress at Nicaea to discuss terms of peace. Legates came from all the cities of Greece, but Philip wished to discuss matters with Flaminius in private. 'I am alone,' he said, 'and need time to consider things.' 'Of course you are alone,' said Flaminius; 'you have put to death every friend who could have advised you.' Philip's terms were

Battle in
the Antigonean Pass,
198.

Congress of
Nicaea.

sent to Rome; but the Senate was unbending. Until Philip gave up the three towns known as the 'fettters of Greece'—Demetrias, Chalchis, and Acrocorinthus—there could be no peace. But Philip would not give up the 'fettters', for that meant giving up all hold on Greece. The war, therefore, went on.

The armies met in the plains of Thessaly, behind which there ran a range of hills called Cynoscephalae—the dogs' heads, from their shape. The battle began in a thick mist, before Philip expected it, and on a piece of ground that he would not have chosen, for it was too rough for the Macedonian phalanx to move properly. The phalanx was dreaded throughout the world, and its charge on good ground was irresistible. It was usually formed by massing 16,000 men in close rows sixteen deep, armed with a long, thick spear called the sarissa. The front row held their spears straight out before them, those behind more and more upright. The whole made a bristling wall of sharp steel, terrible in attack. It came on with tremendous force and weight. But the phalanx needed a large space of open ground. If it were broken up, all was lost, for the men were so close together they could hardly turn. At Cynoscephalae the ground was very rough and uneven; there was no clear space for the phalanx to charge. Philip's army was defeated on both wings, and the Romans won a complete and decisive victory. Philip fled: Greece was free from Macedonia.

Philip saw that all was over. He sent a herald to ask permission to bury his dead, and when Flamininus granted him an interview at Tempe he declared he was ready to give up the three towns. The cities he had taken in Asia had freed themselves already.

Settlement. The Senate sent ten commissioners to Greece to help

Flamininus to settle the country. The Romans did not misuse their victory. Philip had to give up all his conquests outside of Macedonia; but in Macedonia he was still king and independent. Flamininus knew that a strong Macedonia was necessary to protect Greece from the wild northern tribes. 'The fetters' were to have Roman garrisons.

At Corinth, in the year after Cynoscephalae, the great Games were being held. Before an excited crowd, gathered from all parts of Greece, Flamininus came forward and announced, amid a breathless silence, that all the people of Greece were to be free, to pay no tribute, and to have no garrison. The joy of the people was intense. Flowers and garlands were cast before Flamininus, and he was almost smothered by the crowds who wished to press the hand of the 'deliverer of Greece'.

Flamininus spent another year in Greece, helping the towns to settle their many quarrels and organize their governments. When he left in 194 all Roman troops were withdrawn, even from Demetrias, Chalcis, and Acrocorinthus.

Rome had freed Greece, and in Rome Flamininus was received with enthusiasm. It seemed a great thing to give freedom to the Greeks, to whom they owed so much in beauty, art, philosophy, and the high example of the past. The motives of the Senate and of Flamininus were high and noble. But they did not see things as they were. They thought of what Greece had been and done; they did not see that now the quarrelsome, weak, jealous Greek states were not fit for independence. Left to themselves, with Macedonia as strong as ever, war was sure to break out again before long.

CHAPTER XV

ANTIOCHUS

WHILE the Romans were busy in Greece, Antiochus had attacked Pergamum, Rhodes, and the coast cities of Asia Minor, as Philip had done a few years before, and threatened them as dangerously. Though they appealed to Rome, the Romans had their hands full and were by no means inclined for another war that would carry them into Asia.

The Aetolians. But Antiochus was dangerous, because at Ephesus he was joined by Hannibal ; and in 194, when Flamininus withdrew the Roman troops from Greece, Hannibal urged Antiochus to seize this chance. Hannibal's hatred of Rome never slept, and Antiochus was eager for glory. He had married one daughter to the young king of Egypt, another to the king of Pergamum, whose towns he handed back. When ambassadors came from the Aetolians who told him that all Greece would join him as soon as he landed there, he received them favourably. The Aetolians thought that their services in the war had not been rewarded ; they were full of discontent against the Romans because they had treated all the Greeks equally generously, and shown no special favour to the Aetolians. At the same time, Antiochus sent an embassy to Carthage and began to prepare for war.

Hannibal and Scipio. Hearing of these preparations, the Romans sent Scipio Africanus and two other envoys. Antiochus was shut up in his palace, mourning for a son, when they arrived, but Scipio and Hannibal met and conversed. Scipio asked Hannibal

whom he thought the greatest general the world had seen. Hannibal replied that Alexander was the first, then Pyrrhus, then himself. 'And where would you have placed yourself, had I not conquered you?' 'Oh, Scipio,' said the Carthaginian, 'then I should have placed myself not third but first.' When Antiochus appeared, he would make no promises. The Romans got ready for war.

Antiochus made two great mistakes. In the first place he did not fully trust Hannibal. He was jealous and feared that Hannibal and not he would win the glory of the war. Hannibal asked for a fleet with which he could attack Rome from Carthage, but Antiochus dared not risk so bold a plan. Then Hannibal pointed out that Antiochus must make sure of having Macedonia as an ally. Instead of this, Antiochus encouraged a Macedonian pretender and enraged Philip. His second mistake was that he trusted the vain boasts and promises of the Aetolians. As a Roman officer said, Antiochus carried on wars by pen and ink—he thought more of written alliances than of deeds.

In the autumn of 192 he landed in Greece. But his army was small, not the large force that had been expected. Instead of all Greece rising to join him, only the Aetolians did so. Antiochus took Chalcis, and, in spite of Hannibal's advice, wasted the whole winter in feasting and merrymaking there, marrying a Chalcidian bride.

In 191 a Roman army under Glabrio appeared in Thessaly and soon undid all that Antiochus had done the year before. Even the Aetolians were a long time in bringing up their forces, and since no reinforcements came from Asia, the king's whole army was 10,000 men, which Antiochus had encamped behind a trench and stockade in the famous pass of Thermopylae. The

Antiochus
in Greece,
192.

Glabrio.

Battle of
Thermo-
pylae, 191.

Aetolians were set to guard the mountain passes. But Glabrio knew the district. Two of his lieutenants, M. Porcius Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus, were sent with 2,000 men each to capture the passes. Flaccus lost the way, but Cato defeated the Aetolians, and next day, when Glabrio joined battle with Antiochus, came down with his men on the king's rear. The day ended in a complete victory for the Romans. The Asiatics were no match for the Romans, and those who were not cut down in the battle perished or were made prisoners as they tried to escape in the unknown country. Antiochus himself got to Chalcis in safety, but with only 500 men.

The
Aetolians.

There was nothing more to be done in Greece, the whole country was in Glabrio's power, and only a small body of Aetolians who had begun the war still stood out. Their forces were gathered at Naupactus and for months Glabrio besieged the town without success. The Aetolians hoped that Philip of Macedon might send them help: they knew he had no love for the Romans. Finally they obtained a truce.

Antiochus meantime had retired to Ephesus, and the real centre of the war was now in Asia. The distance that the Roman armies would have to go, and the difficulty of getting news and supplies, made an expedition to Asia a serious undertaking, and men turned naturally to the victor of Zama. Scipio Africanus agreed that if his brother Lucius were made consul and commander-in-chief he would go with him as military adviser. Five thousand veterans from the Hannibalic wars at once volunteered. The fleet, under Livius, was sent to prepare for the crossing of the Hellespont. In the last year's war the Roman allies, the people of Rhodes and Pergamum, had done splendid service in cutting off all reinforcements from Antiochus. Now Antiochus had spent the winter

in collecting ships, and his fleet under Polyxenidas, a brilliant admiral, lay off the Ionian coast, while Hannibal was collecting another fleet in Phoenicia. Livius sailed up and challenged Polyxenidas to battle; his fleet was larger and he captured twenty-three of the Persian vessels; the rest retired to Ephesus. 190.

The winter passed on both sides in preparations. Livius then sailed south, while the Rhodian fleet anchored near the mouth of the Eurymedon to wait for Hannibal and his Phoenician fleet. For a long time the west wind held them back, and when Hannibal tried to make for the more open sea it drove them along the coast and right into the arms of the Rhodians. Their superior seamanship gained a victory that was most useful to the Romans. Hannibal escaped. Rhodian victory at the Eurymedon, 189.

The final naval battle was fought under the eyes of Antiochus and his whole army in the Bay of Teos. There the Roman and Rhodian fleets broke through the enemy's line; forty-two Persian ships were sunk or taken and Livius now had the command of the seas. The Scipios meantime had settled the affairs of Greece, made a further truce with the Aetolians, and were ready to cross the Hellespont. The luck that had attended Africanus in Spain and Africa was with him still. On the long and difficult march along the Macedonian and Thracian coasts he met with no resistance. Philip of Macedon had decided that for the present he had better be true to Rome. Like every one else, he had been charmed by Scipio. He saw the Roman army safely on its way, provided supplies, and kept the wild border tribes from molesting it. And at the Hellespont, all was easy. After the battle in the Bay of Teos, Antiochus lost his head. The strong fortress of Lysimacheia, which he held, commanded the crossing—Scipio would have to take it, Battle in the Bay of Teos. Lysimacheia.

and while he delayed to do so Antiochus could attack him. Antiochus, however, with extraordinary folly, removed the garrison and people from Lysimacheia, but left there the stores, arms and ammunition that had been collected in the town, ready for the enemy to use.

Thus, the Romans crossed the Hellespont as easily as if it had been the Tiber. On the other side they delayed, to do the duties to the gods proper to the season, for Africanus was member of a College of Priests. While they halted, messengers came from the great king, asking for terms. But the only terms Scipio would consider were that Antiochus should abandon Asia Minor altogether, and pay all the costs of the war. In true oriental fashion Antiochus tried to bribe Scipio by offering him huge sums of money and sending back his son, who had been taken prisoner. Scipio merely advised him, as a friend, to make peace as soon as possible.

Antiochus's only hope now was to retreat inland as far as possible and wear the Romans out by long marches through unknown country, and so his best counsellor, Hannibal, advised him. But Antiochus had never learned to take advice. Throughout the war he acted entirely on his own judgement. He had neither the wisdom to plan a long campaign nor the patience to carry it out. He clung to the coast of Asia Minor; and at Magnesia, on the river Hermus, the armies met, early in the winter. Antiochus had an immense host, 80,000 men, among them 12,000 cavalry. The Roman army was less than half the size, but the men were trained soldiers, very unlike those of Antiochus, some of whom were driven to the charge with whips. Africanus himself was ill and could not leave his tent, but the Romans were eager for battle, and on a misty November

morning Lucius gave the order. Antiochus's vast host soon fell into confusion. The elephants got wild and trampled down their own men, and the horses that drew the scythed chariots rushed wildly over the field, causing horrible slaughter. The Romans lost about 400 men, while 50,000 Persians were slain. Antiochus fled from the field of Magnesia, where all his hopes had been ruined. From that day Asia ceased to be a great power. For long it had seemed much stronger than it really was; one battle against Rome ended it.

Antiochus had no choice but to take the terms which had been offered by Scipio before the battle. Asia Minor was lost and he could make no effort to win it back. He had no army, and after he paid over the cost of the war to Rome, no money. Hannibal, who might have led him to victory had he been willing to trust his advice, fled to Bithynia. Three years later Antiochus was slain in a miserable attack on a temple in western Persia for the sake of its gold.

Lucius Scipio returned to Rome and received the name ^{Scipio Asiaticus.} Asiaticus. Manlius Vulso, who followed him as consul, subdued the smaller cities of Asia Minor and reduced the whole country to order with the help of commissioners sent out from Rome. The Greek cities were left free and independent. The faithful allies of Rome were rewarded. Rhodes received Lycia and Caria; and Eumenes of Rhodes. Pergamum was made the strongest ruler in that part of the world by getting the Thracian Chersonese with ^{Pergamum.} Lysimacheia, and in Asia Minor, Phrygia, Mysia, Lycania and Lydia. In Greece the Aetolians had to pay a large ransom, and swear fidelity to Rome in war and peace.

The Romans had won much honour and glory in the wars against Philip and Antiochus but they had seized

nothing for themselves. They had gone to war to defend the Greeks in Greece and Asia Minor against oppressors. The peoples of Greece and Asia Minor did look up to Rome as their protectress, but they were all perfectly free ; they had no garrison and paid no tribute.

Changes
in Rome.

At the same time Rome was changing. In the first place, great wealth was beginning to flow in from the East, and the wealth began to bring changes in the manners and way of life of the people, and also, though more slowly, in their way of looking at things. Money had come from Carthage, Greece and Asia. Victorious generals celebrated splendid triumphs adorned with booty of every kind. The people were entertained with shows and games, and the game they began to like best was combat by gladiators. These gladiators were criminals, prisoners, or slaves, who fought for their lives with various kinds of weapons before the public in the circus.

Gladiators.

Some of the booty built splendid temples and public buildings ; some went to the victorious soldiers. From Greece all kinds of beautiful things were brought to Rome, and in the East men saw new and rich foods and stuffs and luxuries. Roman life had been rather hard, and wanting in beauty ; it was good that men should begin to find time for art and philosophy and poetry, and care for things that were not merely useful. In this way the influence of Greece was powerful. But there were some who feared that new ideas and new wealth would ruin the simpler, stronger character of the early Romans, who thought only of honour and duty in war and peace. They remembered with sorrow the good old days when Cincinnatus had gone back from the dictatorship to guide his own plough on his own farm ; they grieved over the changes they saw, forgetting that no nation can stand still : they were filled with disgust at

the ways of the younger generation. Chief among these was Marcus Porcius Cato. He had done good service in Cato. war in Africa, Spain and Greece; his own life was as simple and as rude as that of Cincinnatus could have been, for he lived in a poor cottage, tilled the fields with his own hands, and ate a dinner prepared without fire; he was an eloquent speaker and a just judge; and in all Rome there was no one more respected, though many were more loved. In season and out of season he uttered the praises of the good old times, and abused the evil ways of the present. He wore always the same simple toga of white wool; even when a consul he walked from town to town, and drank the same wine as his slaves. Everything useless he despised, even if it was beautiful. He sold his slaves when they were too old to work; he left his horse in Spain to save the cost of its freight by sea. When he held the office of censor, which gave him the right to turn men out of the Senate who were not fit to be there, and to elect new senators, Cato attacked all sorts of prominent men for extravagance or improper use of public money. Among those whom he attacked were Glabrio, Manlius Vulso and Scipio Asiaticus. Cato had always hated the Scipiös; they were too fond of Greek ways, and Africanus was too masterful to be a good servant of the State. Cato called upon Lucius to give an account of the money spent in the campaign of Magnesia. The charge was almost certainly unjust, but Africanus disdained to defend his brother, and tore the account-books in pieces in presence of the Senate. It was shameful, he said, that a man who had paid nearly a million and a half pounds into the Treasury should be asked to give an account of £25,000. In spite of this, Lucius was condemned, and when his brother rescued him by main force he himself was impeached before the

Attack on Scipio.

people by two tribunes. When it was Africanus's turn to speak he said no word in his own defence, but reminded the people that it was the anniversary of the day on which he had conquered Hannibal at Zama. He told them to follow him to the temple of Jupiter and pray for more citizens like him. The assembly rose and followed him : the tribunes were left alone.

But Scipio's pride was deeply hurt. He felt himself and his family to be of another clay from ordinary men. As a youth he had been the idol of his countrymen, and he could not bear such treatment now. He retired to his estate in the country at Liternum, and died there a few years afterwards at the age of fifty-three. In his will he ordered that he should not be buried in the ungrateful city of Rome.

Death of
Scipio, 183.

In the same year there died the greatest enemy that city ever had. Rome paid Hannibal a great, if peculiar, honour. Up to the moment of his death she feared him. He had stirred first the West and then the East to war against her : even when he was a homeless wanderer he was pursued. After Magnesia he fled to King Nicomedes of Bithynia ; then Flamininus tracked him down and ordered the miserable king to give him up. But Hannibal was not minded to be exhibited a captive in great Rome. In a ring he always wore there was concealed a drop of deadly poison. When the messengers came to seek him, he was dead. His whole life had been spent in keeping the vow he made his father fifty-five years before, to hate Rome always. He died, seeing Rome completely successful, mistress on land and sea, West and East.

Death of
Hannibal,
183.

CHAPTER XVI

MACEDONIA. CARTHAGE. SPAIN

THE management of affairs had fallen more and more Policy of the Senate. into the hands of the Senate during the long wars. The vote of the people settled all big questions of war and peace: they elected consuls and voted taxes; but management belonged to the Senate. The policy of the Senate was not a policy of conquest. They did not seek to rule the world. They wished to make Italy safe from all danger of attack from any power stronger or equally strong. So long as another power equal to Rome existed, Rome was not safe. But they did not desire conquests for their own sake, or for the sake of the wealth and glory that came from conquered lands. Their treatment of Greece and Asia showed this.

The Senate was not to blame if complaints were Complaints brought to Rome. constantly brought to Rome from all the different states of Greece and Asia Minor, who went on quarrelling among themselves. The Lycians complained of the Rhodians: the people of Asia Minor generally, and especially the King of Bithynia, complained of Eumenes of Pergamus: the Aetolians fought among themselves, and the Thessalians and Athenians complained of Macedonia. The Romans would willingly have left the Greeks to settle their own quarrels, but they were unable to do it. And any Greek patriots that were left felt that freedom given by Rome was not very real: that it would really be more honourable to be governed by

a Greek power like Macedonia. The patriots, however, were few: those who hated Philip were many; and all the Greek states were really too poor to do anything. Their governments were in debt: their treasuries were empty: they would do almost anything for money.

Macedonia. Philip of Macedonia was by no means content. He hated Antiochus, who had played him false, and therefore had helped the Romans for the sake of injuring the great king. But the Romans had not rewarded Philip: they did not want him too strong. He was given Demetrias, that was all. The Romans wished to keep him weak, harassed by the free Greek states, as Carthage was by Masannasa.

Philip, however, was no Carthaginian, and he used the years of peace to prepare Macedonia for war. The pride and passion of his youth were over; he now showed himself a wise ruler. The army was filled up with the fierce Thracians, who were trained and disciplined into splendid soldiers. The treasury was filled, the towns on the border were strengthened and well stocked with arms and war material. Complaints were made at Rome of his advance into Thessaly, and he had to withdraw. The rebuff only strengthened his warlike purpose.

Philip's younger son, Demetrius, was in Rome, as a hostage for his father's good behaviour. Perseus, the elder son, persuaded Philip that Demetrius was plotting there against his life; Demetrius was put to death. Too late Philip discovered his innocence. In 179 he died, worn out by a life of hard toil and furious enjoyment, embittered at the end by the falseness of his son.

Perseus. Perseus was very unlike his father, but he shared his hatred of Rome. He was thirty-one, and almost all his life had been spent in camp. Cold, patient and prudent, he had the beauty that had belonged to his family since

the godlike Alexander, and was a good soldier and a fair general. His weakness was his lack of courage: he could prepare, but not strike a blow. For eight years he prepared. The granaries overflowed, provisions, weapons and money enough for ten years' war were collected. An army of 40,000 men was ready, and reserves behind it. In Philip's time Macedonia had never been so strong.

With a full treasury Perseus began to buy allies; none of the Greeks, he found, would stir without money. Byzantium, the Aetolians, and the Boeotians joined him. The Thracian king, a Roman ally, was driven from his throne. Eumenes of Pergamus came to Rome to complain, and war was declared on Macedonia.

At the moment there was only a very small Roman force at Apollonia; it was autumn. Had Perseus had the energy of his father he might have conquered all Greece before the Romans could prevent him and before winter stopped fighting. Instead, he wasted time in talking of terms with Marcius Philippus, which could come to nothing.

Spring came. When the Roman armies landed, Perseus had not stirred from Macedonia or secured any allies. When the war began the Greeks were terrified. But the Macedonian army was much stronger than the Roman, which was also miserably led. P. Licinius Crassus marched from Apollonia, the Roman head quarters, into the north of Thessaly. At Larissa the armies met, and the Macedonians gained a decided victory. The phalanx was irresistible; the Romans lost 3,000 men, and were glad to retreat across the river. Perseus offered peace; but the Romans never made peace after a defeat. Crassus was a poor soldier; and Perseus ought to have followed up his victory by attacking him. Another victory would

172
Third
Macedo-
nian War

171.
Battle of
Larissa.

have roused the Greeks. Instead of this, Perseus withdrew into Macedonia. This weakness ruined his cause. All the chances were in his favour. The Romans had never been so ill led. Only the weakness of Perseus saved them from utter defeat.

Romans
badly led.

The admirals, Lucretius in the first year, and Hortensius in the second, plundered the coast towns, destroyed temples, and robbed the inhabitants; but did nothing against the enemy. On land Hostilius, the new consul, was as weak as Crassus had been. Two badly planned attacks on the passes between Thessaly and Macedonia were defeated. The discipline of the Roman army was shocking. Soldiers went off on plundering expeditions. Even in the summer the men remained in quarters.

170.

At the end of two campaigns nothing had been done; much lost. Much of the great success the Romans had had in Greece before had been owing to the high character of generals and soldiers, who, unlike Greeks and Asiatics, were not tempted by bribes or plunder. Had Perseus been a general like his father, the Romans would have been disgraced before the world. Marcius Philippus, the next consul, was honest, but no general. He got into a position in the mountains where his whole army could have been surrounded and cut to pieces. But Perseus retreated. Had he been able to part with his gold he might have brought 20,000 Celts against Rome; but the price they asked was too high for him. As it was he did nothing. The Romans did nothing either; until at last the Senate saw that an able man must be sent to Macedonia. Perseus was as strong as when the war began, and if he had had the courage to attack, the Romans might have been driven out of Greece.

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In 168 Lucius Aemilius Paullus was made commander. His father had fallen at Cannae: he was married to the

168.

sister of Africanus, by whom his own younger son had been adopted. Paullus was a general of experience, who had won honour in Spain and Liguria. He was poor and the soul of honour, and an able general of the old school, who had no idea of allowing the war to drag on. As soon as he landed at Heracleum and took command, he captured the pass, which was badly guarded by the Macedonians, and drove Perseus and his army north towards Pydna. It was mid-June, and during the night an eclipse of the moon took place. There was a man skilled in the stars in the Roman camp. He explained the strange sight to the soldiers. But the Macedonians were terrified, and thought the king would die. In the morning the outposts came to blows as they were watering their horses, and the battle began. Paullus rode bareheaded among his men, encouraging them and urging them on. At first the phalanx drove right through the Roman line. Paullus himself said afterwards that he had never seen anything so terrible. But this furious charge, on the rough ground, broke up the serried ranks of the phalanx itself. The attack carried the Macedonians too far. The Romans closed round them, and pressed in between the broken ranks. Their long spears were unwieldy, and of little use in a hand-to-hand fight. The phalanx fell fighting to a man. Meantime the Macedonian cavalry had turned and fled, with Perseus, who had been wounded by a horse's kick, at their head.

Battle of
Pydna,
168

In one hour the battle was won, and the fate of Macedonia decided. Twenty thousand Macedonians were killed, and 11,000 taken prisoner. Fifteen days ago Aemilius Paullus had landed; in two days more all Macedonia submitted. Perseus was captured and brought to Aemilius's camp. The rest of his life was spent as a prisoner at Alba.

Fall of
Perseus.

Fate of Macedonia. The Senate decided that Macedonia was to be a kingdom no more.

Macedonia was now divided into four districts. The people of one might have nothing to do with the people of the others. No ships were to be built, and no soldiers kept except as a guard on the northern frontier against the barbarians. A tax was to be paid to Rome, equal to half of what used to be paid to the king. All the treasures of the country, its gold, silver, pictures, statues, furniture, carvings, ivory, and rich woven stuffs, were carried to Rome by Paullus.

Greece. Greece had not known how to use the freedom granted by Flamininus. The Senate determined to take it away. Each state was left with the management of its own affairs, but all were dependent on Rome. In all the cities men who had sympathized with Macedonia were removed and banished to Italy. Among these exiles was Polybius, who spent his long banishment in writing a history of his own times that we still possess in large part. Polybius said that after Pydna the Romans began to be masters of the world. It was the last battle in which they fought against an equal. After Pydna the Romans began to conquer for the sake of conquest.

It was not long before they became the governors, not only the protectors, of Greece. In Macedonia there were frequent disturbances. Pretenders appeared one after another who claimed the throne, and gathered a party round them. The first was Andriscus, who said he was a son of Perseus. He gathered an army of Thracians. Many discontented Macedonians joined him. In Thessaly he defeated a Roman officer. But two years later he was defeated and driven out of Thessaly by Quintus Caecilius Metellus, who thought the victory important enough to take for himself the name 'Mace-

donicus' from it. But the next year another pretender appeared, named Alexander; four years later yet another. Their armies, which were made up of slaves and vagabonds, could not do much against Roman troops, but they disturbed the country and unsettled the government. Therefore Macedonia and parts of Thessaly and Epirus were made into one Roman province, governed by a praetor, and paying a fixed sum in taxes every year to Rome. A great military road was built across from Apollonia to Thessalonica, and a Roman force protected the north from the raids of the Thracians and barbarians. After this there was no more trouble. Macedonia was prosperous and thoroughly loyal to Rome.

Metellus
Macedoni-
cus, 148.

After Metellus had defeated Andriscus he was called south by troubles in Greece. A dispute between Sparta and the Achaeans had grown into a war. At Corinth Metellus and the Roman commissioners settled the dispute; but riots broke out, and Critolaus, the head of the Achaeans, refused to accept the terms. This meant war with Rome.

In the spring Metellus defeated Critolaus, who was slain. Lucius Mummius, the new consul, besieged Corinth. In a battle outside the walls the Achaeans were defeated. Three days afterwards Corinth fell. The town was utterly destroyed. Everything of value, pictures, statues, and ornaments, were shipped to Italy, though many treasures were destroyed by the ignorant soldiers. Polybius saw fine paintings being used as dice-boards. Mummius kept nothing for himself. Corinth became a mere village.

147.
Siege of
Corinth,
146.
Mummius

Greece became practically a number of Roman provinces, like Macedonia. Though not governed by praetors, their districts paid taxes to Rome. Athens, Sparta, and a few other cities were still free, but powerless. Greece caused no more trouble to the Romans.

Settlement
of Greece.

Carthage. In the fifty years that had followed on the battle of Zama, Masannasa had been making himself stronger and stronger, and his gains had all been at the expense of Carthage. Masannasa seized the rich lands round the Lesser Syrtis. When the Carthaginians appealed to Rome, they were ordered to pay over a sum of money to the Numidian king. Encouraged by this, Masannasa encroached still further, this time on the west, and captured the town of Tusca which commanded the rich valley of the River Bagrada. A Roman commission, which came out after long delays, decided again in favour of Masannasa. When the Carthaginians complained, the commissioners returned to Rome.

At their head had been Marcus Porcius Cato, and he returned to Rome with but one thought in his mind: Carthage must be destroyed. He had seen the town flourishing, surrounded by fair fields of waving corn, the houses richly furnished, and the treasures, granaries, and armouries full of supplies; and the old dread of the Hannibalic days awoke again in him, ridiculous though it was. In the Senate Cato had always held the mean and narrow view that Rome dared allow no other power to live; and now he was determined, in spite of the injustice of an attack, that Carthage must be destroyed. On whatever subject he spoke, these words always ended his speech, 'Carthage must be destroyed.' He thought himself a true patriot, and many agreed with him; but his patriotism was of a base kind. To attack Carthage now brought not glory but shame to Rome. In vain did others point out how disgraceful it was for Rome to attack Carthage. When the Carthaginians prepared for war with Masannasa, Cato was beside himself. All those who were greedy for the wealth and trade of Carthage supported him. War was decided on.

' Carthage
must be
destroyed '

Masannasa defeated the Carthaginians, and they were quite unequal to a war with Rome. They decided to submit, without terms, to the mercy of the Roman people. The consuls arrived at Utica, and demanded that all arms should be collected and given up. When the Carthaginians had done this, they were told that the town itself must be deserted, and all its inhabitants removed.

Roman
terms.
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The envoys returned, bringing their direful tidings. The agony of the city was desperate. But the heroism of the Carthaginian people awoke in their darkest moment. They resolved to die in defence of their city rather than abandon it. They had given up all their arms, but they at once set to work to forge new ones. Men and women laboured day and night, preparing shields, swords, catapults, and missiles. The women cut off their hair to be twisted into cords for the engines. The slaves were set free to fight. Public buildings were pulled down to get stones for the engines. The Roman army was but a few miles off, but the city was fortified and its defenders armed for the forlorn hope without their knowledge.

Siege of
Carthage

When the consuls Manilius and Censorinus advanced, they found a task before them to which they were not equal. Carthage was magnificently situated for defence on a hill at the end of a peninsula, joined to the mainland by a narrow isthmus. A triple line of fortifications defended the isthmus. The Roman troops were driven back more than once from their attack on this wall. Masannasa did little; he did not want the Romans in Africa. In the fierce heat of an African summer the soldiers sickened. More than once the Carthaginians set fire to their camps in the night.

In the next year Piso was even less successful than Manilius had been. The discipline of the army was

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poor ; time was wasted. The Carthaginians began to feel more hopeful after two years' siege.

The only Roman who had won any glory in the siege was Scipio Aemilianus, the son of the victor of Pydna, who had been adopted into the family of Africanus. He had proved himself a good soldier in Spain. The soldiers were devoted to him, and he had several times saved his men from serious dangers before the walls. The Romans were discontented with the way the siege dragged on. Scipio was too young to be consul, and had not held the junior offices ; nevertheless, a special vote was passed, and the people chose him as commander for the third year of the war. Scipio was a soldier ; and a soldier has only his duty to think of ; but the destruction of Carthage must have been a painful duty. He was a man of high mind and stainless character. Polybius lived in his house, and loved him greatly. Cato, who hated the Scipios, prophesied that Aemilianus would end the war. 'He is a real man—the rest are shadows,' he said, quoting a verse of Homer. Scipio proved this as soon as he took over the command. His first business was to restore discipline and order in the camp where soldiers and officers had been wasting time in eating, drinking, and amusements. The attack was then carried on with real energy.

Scipio
Aemilia-
nus, 147.

Carthage was soon cut off from all supplies on the land side. The harbour was guarded by the Roman fleet, and few vessels could get through. In the autumn and winter the inhabitants suffered horribly from famine. Their state became even worse when Scipio began to build a dyke of great stones across the narrow mouth of the harbour itself. By the middle of winter the wretched city was closed in, and shut off from all provisions whatsoever. Scipio offered to spare the life of

Hasdrubal, the commander, if he would give in ; but Hasdrubal would listen to no terms for himself only, and Scipio would grant no more.

In the spring the final assault took place. Hasdrubal set the outer harbour on fire. For six days and nights the streets were filled with desperate fighting ; then the citadel was stormed, and the people surrendered on Scipio's promise to spare their lives. Fifty thousand were made prisoners of war—to this number a population of 500,000 had sunk by famine and disease. 146.

Hasdrubal took refuge in the temple, and was pardoned by Scipio. His wife would owe nothing to the conqueror, and killed herself and her two children.

Orders came to Scipio from Rome that the city was to be utterly destroyed. A ploughshare was drawn across the site, and a solemn curse spoken against any one who should ever rebuild it. Polybius stood by Scipio as they watched the burning city. 'It is a wonderful sight,' said Scipio, 'but I shudder to think that some one may some day give the same order for Rome.'

Cato had died before the siege began, but his fierce spirit would have rejoiced, for Carthage existed no longer. Scipio shuddered and turned away. His next task was in Spain. Destruction
of Car-
thage

In Spain there had been peace for more than twenty years after the settlement of Tiberius Gracchus ; but an army had been kept in the country always. There were raids of robber tribes from time to time, and risings among the mountaineers. L. Mummius was defeated by the Lusitani, and two years later Sulpicius Galba lost a great many men against them. In the next year he called upon the tribes to meet him and lay their grievances before him. They came, under promise of protection, and were massacred by Galba. Cato accused Galba, 150.

Viriathus. him in Rome, but he got off unpunished. His treachery had roused new rebellion in Spain. Viriathus, a Lusitanian shepherd, who had escaped from the ambush, held out in mountain fastnesses with desperate patriotism. At last he was killed by one of his own men who had been bribed by a Roman.

139. At the same time there was war going on among the Celtiberians. Under the walls of Numantia a Roman army under Nobilior was severely defeated. In spite of

Siege of Numantia. constant attempts by Roman officers, Numantia remained in the hands of the rebels until in 134 Scipio was called upon. He disciplined the army, formed a winter camp and enclosed Numantia so as to cut it off from all supplies. Through winter, spring, and summer the garrison

133. held out, though they suffered so horribly from famine that they ate the bodies of the slain. At last Numantia surrendered, and was utterly destroyed. Scipio returned to Rome in triumph, the first citizen in the State.

PART III

REVOLUTION AND CIVIL WAR

CHAPTER XVII

THE GRACCHI

ROME was now the strongest power in the world, as the world was drawn on Roman maps. There was nowhere an enemy who could stand against her armies for long. Those who had tried to do so had only made her stronger, and been forced at last to give her their lands to rule. Antiochus had tried. He had failed. Rome now ruled in the East. Perseus had tried. He had been crushed and Rome was mistress of Greece. Carthage had tried, and after the long wars Carthage was destroyed. Everywhere Rome conquered. Her soldiers brought back prisoners and costly spoil from every land. The prisoners were forced to work as slaves. The booty made the houses of the citizens of Rome beautiful. Gold and silver, jewels, precious stones, and splendid stuffs were carried into the city.

But it is sometimes said that difficulties help a man to do what is right. It is harder for him to do his best and to be unselfish when everything goes well with him than when he has to struggle and to work hard. It is the same with nations. As Rome grew more and more powerful, the Romans lost many of the virtues that had made them great. People no longer lived in the old simple way.

They thought more of themselves and their own comfort and less of the Republic than they had done. Every day the rich grew richer, and as they grew richer they began to care more for their own pleasure and less for the good of the State. Soon they thought that anything that gave them pleasure and made them rich must be for the good of the State. The senators were proud and cruel and luxurious. They forgot that it was part of their duty to look after the welfare of the people in the countries that Rome had conquered. They only remembered the money that could be got from them. At home the rich men had no thought for the poorer citizens. They did not care when they saw that men who had fought for Rome were starving and homeless.

The
Gracchi.

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There were still men in Rome who lived and thought as the earlier Romans had done, but not many. Among them were the sons of that Tiberius Gracchus who had forty years before done such good work in Spain. He had belonged to one of the oldest and noblest families in Rome, and had been chosen by the great Africanus as the husband of his daughter Cornelia. Cornelia was a woman of uncommon ability and lofty character. She devoted herself to the education of her two sons and one daughter. When her friends displayed to one another their fine jewels and apparel, and spoke with pride of the rich furnishings of their houses, she called her children to her and said, 'These are my treasures!'

From her, Tiberius and his brother Caius, who was nine years younger, learned as boys to wish for their country not only that it should grow richer and more powerful. Their mother had taught them to see that Rome was only really great if her rule brought happiness and a free life to all who lived under it, whatever

their rank might be. She had made them feel that they must not live for themselves alone. They were rich; they ought to help those who were poor.

Tiberius served in the war in Spain and did good service there. He was a quiet, silent young man, and few people knew him well. He did not talk much and never talked about himself, but he thought a great deal; and those who really knew him felt that one day he would be a great man. As he travelled on his way to Spain and home again he saw much that made him think, and think sadly. Once Italy had been a country of peasants and farmers, living on their own little piece of land, and cultivating the soil. That had been the case before the long Punic wars. He saw very few of those happy farmers now. Year after year the wars had called the men away to military service. Many had been killed. Very few had ever returned to their homes. While they were away their little farms had fallen into ruin. Often they had been seized by one of the great landowners living near by. If the rent was not paid by the man who was away at the war, the landlord took his farm instead and kept it. Even when the farm belonged to the farmer this often happened if he were away for a long time. Soldiers, when they did come back from the war, found that there was nowhere for them to go. Others, after the hard days of fighting, were not ready to go back to the heavy work of farming a piece of land that had been long left deserted, and was now overgrown with weeds. Tiberius saw all this. He saw the deserted farms, fallen into ruin: and he saw the huge estates of the great landowners, most of them worked by slaves. He saw that there was no land to be had by any poor man who wanted to farm it. Even the land which had once been common had all been taken and added to the

big estates. It had been nobody's business to look after it and keep it for the people. It had simply been taken. There was no one powerful enough to say to the great landowners, 'This is public property—you are not to take it for yourselves,' and so they added a piece here and a piece there to their large estates, and now there was no free land left. They had taken it all. Tiberius said afterwards, thinking of what he had seen, 'The wild beasts of Italy have their lairs and hiding-places, but those who fight and die for Italy wander homeless with their wives and children, and have nothing they can call their own except the air and the sunlight.'

And when he reached Rome, things were not much better. Here, too, the poor were weak and miserable. The city was overcrowded with people who ought to have been at work on the fields and farms and could find no work to do in the towns. There were numbers of men and women who had no food because they could get no work. All this had been so before, before he went to Spain; but Tiberius saw it all now with new eyes. He was a boy no longer. He was a man, with his work in life before him. He was nearly thirty, and what he had seen of the sufferings of the people in the country, and what he saw now every day of their misery in the town, sank deeply into his mind. The men of his own rank and class saw what he saw, but they did not care. For them, Rome meant the rich. They forgot the letters of the standard—'S. P. Q. R.'—the Senate and People of Rome.

The more Tiberius thought about it, the more sure he felt that the way to help the people was to give them land. They must get back to the country. There was no work for them in the town, there were too many of them there. In the country, on the other

hand, they were needed. On fields that were now waste corn might be grown and cattle fed. The land was wasted when the people could not cultivate it ; when it was shut up in great estates by those who had no right to it. He made up his mind to change these things if he could.

The poor citizens soon felt that a friend had come. Every day almost Tiberius found messages written on the walls of his house, such as: 'Help the poor, Gracchus!'

Very soon after his return to Rome he was elected as one of the ten tribunes of the people. At once he set to work on the land question. He drew up a bill, which he laid before the people in their assembly. In it he proposed that the State should take back all the common land which had always belonged to the whole people. No one was to be allowed to have more than a certain amount of it—500 acres—for which he was to pay a small rent, and 250 for each son. Those who had more at present, were to give all that they had up, only keeping 500 acres, but would receive compensation for the rest (this clause was withdrawn later). Thus the State would get back a great amount of land—land that had always belonged to it by right, but which it had allowed to go. This land Gracchus proposed to divide into lots, which were to be given as farms to needy Romans and Italians, who would go and work on them and pay the State a small rent. In this way the land would no longer be wasted, and at the same time the poor would be helped. 134.

Gracchus's measure would take from the rich nothing that had ever really been theirs by right. It took from them only what they had never had any right to have. They were still allowed to have their 500 acres of

common land, and no one was to have more than that. Their own estates were not touched. But they had had the common land for so long, had kept the poor people out of it for so long, that they had begun to think that it did belong to them, and that they should keep it for ever. So they made up their minds to do all that they could to prevent Gracchus from having his bill made law. They knew that if the people were given a chance to vote on it, it was certain to be passed, for it was so much for the good of the people, so they intended to prevent the people from voting on it at all. Indeed, when the voting day came near, Gracchus had to go about armed for fear of an attack from the rich men.

Octavius, one of the other tribunes, was a friend of the rich, and they persuaded him to say 'Veto!' when Gracchus's bill came before the people. For the moment the bill was stopped. The Senate and the rich land-owners were delighted. But the people were furious. Angry words were spoken; then blows followed; and at last the rich party carried off the voting-boxes, so that nothing more could be done.

Tiberius was not going to give up his bill, which he knew was for the good of the people. At first, he tried to persuade Octavius to let the bill pass. Octavius refused. Then Tiberius said that it was absurd for Octavius to call himself a tribune of the people, while he was doing all that he could to stop a bill that would do so much good for the people, and which the people themselves wanted. He called upon Octavius to resign. Octavius refused. Tiberius then turned to the people. In their assembly he called upon them to choose another tribune in the place of Octavius. Octavius, he told them, cared nothing for their interest. He wanted merely to please his rich friends in the Senate. Octavius was

removed without any disturbance and another tribune elected, who was in favour of the bill.

The land bill was now passed amid much rejoicing. A committee of three was chosen to divide the land and give it out to the citizens who needed and were able to use it. Since all the men of his own rank were against him, Tiberius had to put on the committee his brother Caius, his uncle Appius Claudius, and himself. His enemies made much of this, and began to say that Gracchus wanted to be king'. The committee meantime set to work at once, and before long many men had set off for their new farms.

Gracchus had now made himself hated by the Senate and by all the rich. They were determined to ruin him. As long as he was tribune he was safe. But he was only tribune for a year, and the year soon came to an end. In one year all the work that he had to do could not be finished. Therefore he said that he should ask the people to choose him again as their tribune. Unluckily, many of those who would have voted for him had gone into the country to start work on their new farms, so that he was not as strong in Rome as he had been, and the Senate knew this. They meant to prevent his being elected again; they did not mean that he should escape them for another year. So, when the day came, they said that it was not legal for the same man to be a tribune twice in succession. Already a great many votes had been given for Gracchus. The crowd was indignant. In the end, the election was put off to the next day, though nothing had been settled, and those who had voted for Gracchus would not hear of their votes being thrown away. Many of the people refused to go home at all, for they dreaded what the rich might be planning to do. So all night they wandered up and down the streets.

A great number kept guard over the house of Gracchus, for they felt that he was not safe. Every one was fearful of what might happen on the morrow.

The morning came, and Tiberius rose early and went out into the streets, although his friends urged him to stay at home. In the Capitol, where the voting always took place, riots were already going on. People were fighting together with sticks and clubs and bits of broken benches; they had snatched up anything that came to hand that would do for a weapon. One party was for Gracchus, saying that he should be elected again; the other for the Senate, saying that he was an enemy to the State and should not be elected. A great many of those who fought knew very little of what the fighting was about.

As soon as Tiberius appeared, some of his friends gathered about him, but he saw that there were more of his enemies near him, and felt that he was not safe. To summon more of his friends to come close to him, he raised his hand to his head as a signal for help.

Instantly some one who saw him do this ran to the Senate. They were sitting in the Temple of Faith, near to. 'Tiberius Gracchus is asking the citizens to crown him!' cried the man; 'he raises his hand to his head!' Thereupon Scipio Nasica, a senator who hated Gracchus, called to the consul to 'put the tyrant to death!' The consul would not do this act of murder. Then cried Nasica, 'The consul deserts the State, let those who are its friends follow me!' So saying, he rushed out. Many of the senators followed him, wrapping their togas round their heads and arms to protect themselves. They charged the crowd, who made way before them. A general fight followed. Tiberius was surrounded by his enemies, and soon fell to the

earth. He was killed almost at once. Numbers of his followers shared the same fate. The others fled. The body of Gracchus was cast unburied into the Tiber. Many of those who had been on his side were imprisoned and executed. Others had all their property taken away from them.

Tiberius was dead. He had begun a good work. That, the Senate dared not try to destroy ; but he had been killed before it was finished. The rich had won the victory and Tiberius seemed to be forgotten. Without a leader the people were helpless. Caius Gracchus was abroad, serving in the army. Well might he say—‘Whither can I go? What place is there for me in Rome? The Capitol reeks with my brother’s blood. In my home, my mother sits weeping and lamenting for her murdered son.’

The Senate found a new defender in Scipio Aemilianus, whom the people had hoped to find on their side. Having finished the war in Spain, he returned to Rome in triumph. Although his wife Sempronia was the sister of Tiberius Gracchus, Scipio said in the Senate that Tiberius had deserved his death. When the people shouted in anger at this, he turned to them and said, ‘Be silent, ye to whom Italy is only a step-mother!’ Scipio was a man of lofty character, very different from the rich and selfish senators ; but he could not see that the time had come when many things must be changed, and when the people must be given some share in the wealth and power of Rome. Like too many men of high rank, he despised the people. He hated their loud voices and dirty hands. Every one in Rome respected him, but many were afraid of him, and he had few friends. One day after speaking in the Senate he returned to his house well and in good spirits. The next morning he was found dead

132.

in his bed. Foul play was suspected ; but no inquiry was made. It was said men feared what might have been discovered.

Scipio might think that the death of Tiberius was a just one. The people of Rome might seem to forget him. There was one person who could not forget, and who meant to avenge him. It is said that while Caius Gracchus slept in his tent, the spirit of Tiberius appeared to him and said, 'Why lingerest thou, Caius? There is no alternative. The fates have decreed for both of us the same life and the same death, in fighting for the rights of the people.'

Caius, nine years younger than his brother, had been away from Rome at the time of his death and for some years after it. He had been in Sardinia serving as an officer in the army. But in those years he did not forget Tiberius. All the time his purpose grew—to avenge his brother's death, and carry out the work of his life. But Caius was very unlike Tiberius. Tiberius had wanted to help the poor ; Caius wanted to do that, but at the same time he hated the rich, and that Tiberius had not done. Tiberius was quiet and gentle. Caius was fiery and passionate. He was a great orator—one of the greatest that Rome ever had—and when he spoke he could make people do what he wanted. He was a fine statesman too, full of really great ideas. The men of his time were not ready for his ideas. Tiberius was the only man who could have helped him to carry them out, and Tiberius was dead.

Nine years after Tiberius's death Caius came home, and as soon as he came home he stood for the tribuneship. The rich, dreading the brother of their old enemy, tried to prevent his election. They accused him of coming home before his time of service was up ; and of having

made money abroad, more than he ought to have done. Caius turned on them, and told them that he had already served twelve years in the army, when he need only have served ten ; and added, ' I am the only man who went out with a full purse and returned with an empty one. Others, having drunk the wine they brought out with them, brought back the casks filled with gold and silver ! '

He was elected. At once, to show that his friendship for the people was something real, he went to live among them, on the Forum, which was then a very poor part of the town.

Tiberius Gracchus had done much to help the poor by giving them work to do in the country. He took them away from the town, where there was not work enough for all the people who were crowding there. But now all the land that he had got back for the people by his bill had been divided among the new farmers. Caius had to help them in some other way.

First of all, he cared for the many men who had once been farmers and then lost their farms while they were away at the wars. For these men he started colonies in various parts of Italy. There they were to live and work on the land ; but they were to keep their votes as Roman citizens, so that they did not mind going away from Rome. One of these colonies was to be where Carthage had once stood ; this one was called Junonia. But all the poor were not fit for farming. Some of them could only do digging and builders' work. To help them, Caius planned a number of roads to be built between Rome and different parts of Italy. When they were finished, the roads were very useful to all the new farmers. By the new roads they could send their goods into Rome much more cheaply and quickly than they had been able to do before.

The people who were most difficult to help were those who were not strong enough for hard work of this kind. Caius passed a law which provided that any one who lived in Rome could have a certain amount of corn given to him every day for a price that was so small as to be almost nothing. This free corn-giving made Caius very popular. The people liked it better than anything else that he did for them. It was really a mistake. In the end it did not help the people much. They got used to having it, and did not try to find work so that they could do without it; and then those who did not need it at all took it.

But Caius had to make himself popular in order that he might attack the Senate. The Senate did not like any of the things that he had done, and he knew it. But he did not care. He went on to do things that made them hate him still more.

The senators were the judges in all trials. This gave them great power. A senator could do pretty much what he liked, when he was only to be judged by his friends. In the old days, when the senators really cared for the good of the Republic, and thought of the State before themselves, this had not mattered. They had judged fairly then, even when they judged a senator. But now this was no longer the case. It was no longer safe to leave all this power in the hands of the same body of men. They had shown in the case of Tiberius Gracchus that they were not fair or just. Caius Gracchus now took the right of judging away from the Senate, and gave it instead to a body of men called the Equites—the Knights.

At the same time, Caius altered some of the punishments of the law; he made them less severe than they had been.

The Senate were furious when they found that

Gracchus was really attacking their power. But as long as he had the people behind him, they could do nothing against him. The people's assembly passed all the laws that Gracchus brought in ; and the Senate could do nothing. Until they got the people to desert Gracchus they could not stop him.

Their chance soon came. Gracchus brought in his greatest reform. He asked the people of Rome to give votes to the citizens of Italy. They were the best soldiers that Rome had ; they paid taxes ; they bore their share of all the burdens of the State ; but they had no voice in the government, and in many ways they were not at all fairly treated because they had no votes. Caius asked the Romans to give them votes. He wanted to make Italy one nation. He wanted Rome to feel that it was her duty, not only to grow rich and powerful, but to be just to all those who made her rich. He wanted Rome to be at the head of a free people. The Romans wanted to keep all the good things for themselves. They did not want to share with the Italians. They were not ready to see things as Caius wanted them to. The poor were as selfish as the rich, when they had a chance to be so. They wanted to keep all they had for themselves, and give nothing to the Italians. They had been angry when Tiberius Gracchus had given farms to the Italians ; they were still more angry now when Caius wanted to give them votes. They did not see why the Italians, whom they despised, should be made Roman citizens. They did not care at all when Gracchus told them of the wrongs that were suffered by the Italians. They did not mind if they were ill-treated. Insolent young Romans, Gracchus told them, made poor Italians feed them and lodge them for the night ; when they went away the next day

they gave no thanks, but often a beating if their host ventured to speak to them. The Romans did not care at all, even if all this happened, as Gracchus told them that it did.

The Senate hated the idea as much as the populace did; and they saw their chance of overthrowing Gracchus. They persuaded the tribune Livius Drusus to say 'Veto!' when Caius's bill to give the Italians votes was put before the people. At the same time Livius promised them more free land and corn than Gracchus had given them. The Senate had also made up their minds that they would not allow Gracchus's colony at Junonia to go on.

Suddenly all Gracchus's popularity was gone. Without it, his life was hardly safe.

On the day on which the vote was to be taken about the colony at Junonia, the Capitol was crowded with people. Each party was afraid of the other, and neither dared to leave the spot. So all night a mob of those who were on the side of the Senate and the rich encamped on one side of the hill, and a body of those who stood by Gracchus slept on the other side. Each party kept watch on the other, as they had done on the night before the death of Tiberius. Many feared that the fate of Caius would be like that of his brother.

One of the consul's lictors pressed his way rudely through the crowd, crying, 'Stand off, ye factious citizens, that way be made for honest men!' His tone was insolent, and the crowd already angry and prepared for mischief. Some of Gracchus's partisans fell upon him, and he was slain. Caius was much distressed. Now the Senate could and did say that the first blood had been shed by Gracchus's people.

A restless night passed. No one slept much. All

dreaded the morning. The wife of Caius fell on her knees beside him as he was going out, and implored him to stay at home. He could do no good, she said; and the danger was great. Caius would not listen to her. He said he could not desert his friends.

The danger was greater than he knew. Opimius the consul said that it was his duty to protect the State from enemies. He had offered to give to any one who should bring him the head of Caius Gracchus the weight of the head in gold. The same reward was offered for the head of Gracchus's friend, Fulvius Flaccus.

Gracchus made his way to the Aventine hill, where Fulvius Flaccus had gathered his followers, whom he had armed as best he could. They were far outnumbered by the other party; and Fulvius sent his little son to the Senate to ask for terms. The boy was kept there without an answer, while Opimius marched against the Aventine hill with a troop of soldiers and some Cretan archers. The followers of Gracchus and Fulvius were not able to fight against armed soldiers. They made way before them. Fulvius hid himself in a bath; but he was dragged out and killed, and his son was killed at the same time. Gracchus refused to strike a blow; he would not strike a fellow-citizen. He would have killed himself, but his friends persuaded him to try to escape. Escape, however, was not possible. He had no horse; and in the Grove of Furina on the Janiculum he was overtaken by his enemies and killed at once. A man, called Septumelius, who had once called himself his friend, carried his head to the consul, after having made it heavier by stuffing the mouth with lead; he received his reward. Gracchus's followers were tried and condemned to death. The trial was a mere mockery. Nearly three thousand were strangled in prison. The

property of those who had fallen was taken by the State. Opimius built a new Temple of Concord with the money that was got in this way. On the wall of this new temple some one wrote in the night :

‘Madness and Discord build the fane of Concord!’

The people who had deserted Tiberius and Caius while they lived, mourned and honoured them after their deaths. Statues were set up to them in the public places, every season the people brought their offerings there.

It was too late, however. The two men who could have helped the poor were dead. Years later men knew how much had been lost in them.

Cornelia, their mother, went to live at Misenum. There she was always glad to see those who would talk to her of her sons. She spoke of them as two heroes who had died for their country. She was right.

CHAPTER XVIII

JUGURTHA. THE CIMBRI

AFTER the fall of the Gracchi the Senate became more powerful than ever. But they did not try to carry out the work which the people's champions had begun. Nothing was done to help the poor; nothing was done for the Italians. The senators, like so many other men in Rome, had begun to feel that wealth was the one thing that they wanted. When the governors felt that, the government was not likely to be good.

The senators wanted money; but the richest men in the State were found in the class which in the old days of Servius Tullius had been called the knights, because, since they had more than a certain amount of property, they served in the cavalry. These knights now found their main business in the management of money. They had their offices in the Forum; and there they lent large or small sums to those who could pay for them. Business men also undertook the equipment and provisioning of the fleets and armies sent out by the State. They formed themselves into companies and managed the collection of the taxes in the provinces. This they soon found very profitable indeed. Each province had to pay to Rome a certain sum, fixed by law. The tax-collecting companies handed this sum to the treasury; but they collected as much over and above as they could wring out of the provincials. The provincials could not help themselves, and the governor sent out by the Senate too often had a share in the company, and did not help them either.

The
business
men.

Tax-col
lecting
compani

The companies became so rich that they were willing to pay to be allowed to collect taxes; and the Senate gave the right of collecting to the company that would pay the most for it.

Caius Gracchus had made one great mistake. To win popularity he had given cheap corn to all the citizens—not only to the poor who needed it. This evil that he did lived after him, while much of his good work was lost. The Senate went on giving away cheap corn; and Rome became full of idle, worthless men, who found they could live in the city without doing much work. The Italians had no votes, and many of the better citizens were away in the army or too busy on their farms to come and vote. So the elections began to fall more and more into the hands of the town mob. In this mob there was a great number of freedmen; that is, slaves who had saved enough money to buy their freedom, or had been freed by their masters. These freedmen were mostly foreigners, and it was natural that they should vote for men who promised them better wages and cheaper food, not for those who really cared for the honour of Rome.

The slaves in the town were often fairly happy. Many of them were Greeks of good education. They looked after the children, taught them, and took them to school, kept accounts, wrote their master's letters and copied books for his library. But in the country, where they worked in the fields or the mines, their plight was hard. They were so harshly treated, and so badly fed, that many landowners kept them in chains for fear they should escape. At night they were herded together like cattle. All over Italy slave risings were common; and in Sicily there was a regular slave war which needed several campaigns to put it down.

About the same time as this slave war, there was a Africa. war in Africa which was very ill managed by the Senate. Masannasa's kingdom of Numidia had grown and grown until it contained nearly all northern Africa. When the old king died at a great age it was divided between his three sons, Micipsa, Gulussa, and Mastanabal. Three 118. years after the death of Caius Gracchus, the last of the three—Micipsa—died, leaving two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, and a nephew, Jugurtha, older than the other two.

Jugurtha was brave and clever. His own people loved Jugurtha. him. He was determined to rule alone. Numidia was under Roman protection; but Jugurtha knew the Romans, for he had served with their army. Hiempsal was murdered in cold blood, and Jugurtha then declared war on Adherbal. Jugurtha's troops were better trained. In war and peace he was faithless. He soon drove Adherbal from the country, and massacred all who had been on his side.

Adherbal appealed to Rome. But Jugurtha had also sent ambassadors to Rome, loaded with gold and silver. The Senate only sent an embassy, with Opimius at their head, to divide Numidia between Adherbal and his brother's murderer. As soon as the embassy left, Jugurtha Siege of Cirta. began the war again. Adherbal was shut up in Cirta. Again he appealed to Rome. Again an embassy came; but returned to Rome with nothing done. Jugurtha went on with the war. Adherbal sent another desperate cry for help. The Senate ought to have declared war on Jugurtha, who had broken all his promises, and flouted their ambassadors; but they merely sent a third commission with M. Aemilius Scaurus, the chief man in Rome, at its head. Even Scaurus, however, was not proof against Jugurtha's gold. He sailed back to Rome,

Sack of
Cirta, 112. and Jugurtha went on besieging Cirta. Betrayed and deserted, Adherbal was persuaded to give in by the Italian merchants in the town, who thought that Jugurtha would spare them. But Jugurtha spared none. Adherbal was done to death with terrible cruelties, and every one in Cirta, whether African or Italian, was put to the sword.

War
declared. The news was heard in Rome with horror and indignation. The people were furious with the senators, who had thus disgraced the Roman name. A tribune named Memmius threatened to bring all those who had been bribed to trial, unless war was declared at once. An army was sent to Numidia under Calpurnius Bestia and Scaurus. But the year was not out when the news came to Rome that Jugurtha had been allowed to make a truce. It was too plain what had happened. Bestia, Opimius, and others were condemned for having taken bribes, though Scaurus, who was one of the judges, got off.

Albinus, sent out the next year, did little better. The discipline of the Roman army was disgracefully bad. Aulus, the brother of Albinus, was utterly defeated by Jugurtha, and his army was compelled to pass under the yoke. The Romans had to leave Numidia and renew the truce.

Metellus. Jugurtha was adored in Africa, and it seemed as though he were going to free the country from Rome. In Rome, and all through Italy, men said the Senate was betraying the State. At last a man was found who was a good general and above taking bribes. This was Quintus Caecilius Metellus, who belonged to one of the oldest and most honourable families in Rome. Though a patrician, he chose men as his officers who were good soldiers regardless of their families. Among them were Rufus. Marius. Rutilius Rufus, who had begun to reform the army, and

Caius Marius, the son of poor Italian peasants, who had started life as a common soldier. He had served in Africa under Scipio, and Scipio marked him as a coming man. In Africa he did so well that Metellus made him his first officer. Discipline was restored ; and on the river Muthul Jugurtha was defeated. He would not risk another battle. Numidia was a vast country ; much of it was sandy desert. The Romans might conquer it ; but as soon as they were gone Jugurtha would win it back. Metellus saw that the war could not be ended until Jugurtha himself was captured. That was no easy matter, and for another year the war dragged on.

Marius meantime thought he could finish it if he had Marius. the chance. An oracle had told him that he should hold the highest office in the State seven times, and he believed it. He asked Metellus to allow him to go to Rome to stand for the consulship. Metellus laughed, and said Marius might wait till young Metellus, then a boy, were ready to stand with him. Marius never forgave this insult. He went to Rome. The Senate treated him with scorn. But the people hailed him as their champion. They did not mind his boorish manners. When he abused Metellus, and said that if he were general the war would soon be over, they elected him by a huge majority.

In Africa his promises were not so easy to carry out. On an expedition against Bocchus, king of Mauretania, the Roman army was only saved from defeat by a brilliant cavalry charge led by a young patrician officer, Lucius Cornelius Sulla. Marius went into winter quarters, 106 and tried to induce Bocchus to give Jugurtha up. Bocchus Sulla and Bocchus. said he would hand him over if Sulla, whom he knew and liked, were sent to fetch him. To go to Bocchus was to enter the lion's den ; but Sulla set off with a small body of men. He persuaded Bocchus he had better make

friends with Rome; and returned to Marius bringing Jugurtha with him in chains.

At last the seven years' war was over. Marius returned to Rome in triumph, and Jugurtha was led captive before his car. Afterwards he was thrown naked into a dungeon, 'How cold is this Roman bath!' he cried. There he died of cold and hunger.

Marius brought back immense booty. But his joy was embittered by the share that Sulla bore in his victory. Sulla had a seal ring made with a picture of Bocchus handing over Jugurtha upon it; and some years later Bocchus presented to the Roman people a set of carvings showing the same scene. From this moment Marius hated Sulla.

But at the moment he had no rival, and with one voice he was chosen commander against the barbarians, who were once more threatening to come down against Rome.

While the Senate was mismanaging the war in Numidia, the armies on the northern frontier had been defeated again and again. The frontier had grown longer as the power of Rome pressed further north. There were colonies and settlements beyond the Alps even, at the iron and gold mines; even Massilia was a Roman ally. But the government had not kept troops to guard this frontier.

In the year of Caius Gracchus's death there was a rising among the powerful tribe of the Arverni; but the consul Fabius had defeated an immense army of them on the Rhone. Thereupon a new Roman province—Gallia Narbonensis—had been formed between the Pyrenees and the Alps. A road was built across, and settlements planted at Narbo and Aquae Sextiae. But constant fighting went on, all the way from Massilia to Thrace and Macedonia, among the great barbarian tribes. They

constantly attacked the peoples friendly to Rome, and made raids on Roman territory. A tribe the Romans had never met before began to move south at the time of the Jugurthine war. These were the Cimbri—perhaps Cimbri. kinsmen of the unknown Germans of the north. They were quite uncivilized; raw meat was their food. Tall and flaxen-haired, they had no fixed homes, but always wandered from place to place, fighting. Now they suddenly appeared among the Celts, whom the Romans had been fighting on the Danube, and swept down to the Alpine passes above Aquileia, where the consul Papirius Carbo stood on guard, and utterly defeated him. They could have marched into Italy; but they turned west, and two years later fell upon the Allobroges. Junius Silanus, Silanus was sent to defend Gaul against them; but he too was defeated, and his camp taken by the enemy. ^{Defeats of Carbo, 113} The Cimbri then sent messengers to Rome to ask for land.

Meantime they marched into eastern Gaul, with the Helvetii. Cassius Longinus, who was sent against them, was completely vanquished. A small body of men ^{107.} who escaped were afterwards forced to pass under the yoke. Tolosa, the strongest town in the province, was taken. The Cimbri marched on. Caepio, the new ^{Caepio} general, recaptured Tolosa, and took quantities of booty, ^{105.} of which he kept a good share. Instead of attacking the Cimbri, he waited for them. When they did come up with him at Arausio, on the Rhone, he was busy quarrelling with Manlius, the other general, who was consul, and therefore his superior. To gain credit for himself Caepio attacked, while Manlius was receiving messengers. Both the Roman armies were utterly destroyed in the battle. More than 80,000 Romans fell; ^{Battle of Arausio.} only a handful escaped to tell the tale. There was

nothing between the Cimbri and Italy; the passes were undefended.

Such a disaster had not happened since Cannae. Only the marvellous luck of Rome saved the city. The Cimbri marched west towards the Pyrenees instead of south. There had been terror in Rome. Four times in half a dozen years their armies had been defeated by barbarians. The fault was with the generals, not with the soldiers. The Senate was jealous of good officers, and gave high command to senators whether they were good officers or not. Saturninus, the leader of the anti-senatorial party, attacked Caepio, Manlius, and others, and they were banished.

The danger was still great. Marius was at once chosen consul again, though it was not legal to hold the office twice running. In the next three years he was elected three times running. He made ready to go against the Cimbri.

They had gone into Spain, and a year passed without any meeting: in the following spring the Cimbri themselves prepared to cross the Alps from Switzerland, while the Teutones and the Ambrones, their allies, coming from southern Gaul, marched along past Massilia. Catulus, the other consul, awaited the Cimbri in Cisalpine Gaul, while Marius himself crossed the Alps, and encamped on the lower Rhone, ready to meet the Teutones and Ambrones. He allowed their hosts to file past him, jeering and shouting; then followed and attacked them at Aquae Sextiae, to the north of Massilia. For two days a tremendous battle raged. The barbarians were utterly defeated, and cut down almost to a man; 100,000 lay on the field. Arausio was avenged. Centuries after bones were found in the fields, and the people of Massilia fenced in their vineyards with them. While Marius was

celebrating the victory, and sacrificing to the god of war, messengers came to tell him that he had been made consul for the fifth time. He crossed the Alps to help Catulus. The Cimbri had crossed the pass, defeated him, and compelled him to retreat to the Po, while they ravaged the rich plains of Lombardy, waiting for the Teutones and the Ambrones to join them.

At Vercellae Marius and Catulus joined. Messengers came from the Cimbri to demand land for themselves and the Teutones. 'Do not trouble yourselves about your brothers,' said Marius grimly, 'they have land enough, which we have given them to keep for ever.' On July 30 the battle took place in the Raudian plains. The Cimbri were wiped out, as their kinsmen had been. The burning heat of an Italian summer soon exhausted the northerners: 100,000 fell; among them Boiorix, their king, the tallest and strongest man in the army. Catulus and Marius had commanded together; but in Rome Marius, and Marius only, was the hero of the hour, the saviour of his country. For the sixth time he was made consul.

Battle of
Vercellae,
101

CHAPTER XIX

MARIUS AND CIVIL WAR

THERE was little contentment in Rome, in spite of the great victories. Wise men's hearts were heavy, and their minds were full of fear ; they felt that all was not well with the State, and that, somehow, great change was bound to come. As yet there was no one able to see what the change should be.

The senators wanted no change. They wanted to keep the power that came from governing in their own hands, for they saw that the power of money was in the hands of others. Many of the old families were very poor. Many became poor because their young men got dreadfully into debt by living wildly and extravagantly. A man like Sulla, who belonged to the Cornelian family, one of the oldest in the State, to which the Scipios also belonged, lived in Rome in a cheap room at the top of a great pile of flats. Yet the poor senators despised the rich business men who got their money by trade. Roman citizens generally despised trade. They began, too, to hate serving in the army. As fewer Romans enlisted, more Italians had to be pressed in.

The
Italians.

The Italians had hoped that Gracchus would give them votes. Gracchus had been killed. Time went on. No one helped them. They were forced to serve in the Roman army. Their farmers were being ruined because they could not grow corn so cheaply as it was grown in Sicily and Africa. They could not get enough land for

cattle-grazing, because the great men from Rome bought up the big estates. The Italian countryside grew deserted. There were no towns of any size. Many drifted to Rome, but even in Rome they could get no help, since they had no votes. Laws had been passed which declared a Roman citizen could not be flogged nor put to death; but Italians could be punished in both these ways, and they felt themselves ill used in that and many other ways.

The selfish Romans wanted to keep everything in their own hands. Rome was overcrowded. People flocked thither from Italy and all parts of the world, hoping to make their fortunes. People who had failed to make a living in Italy or any other part of the world came to Rome too, because in Rome they got corn cheap and could live without working much. In Rome there was fierce strife between two parties—the party of the Senate, the Optimates as they were called, and the popular party, which wanted to give the people a share in the government, and get it out of the hands of the noble families. The Roman mob understood little enough of the aims of either party: they gave their votes to the men who seemed to promise most.

Marius returned to Rome, and thought he was the man the State required. He had done good service in defeating the barbarians, and in reforming the army. He had found the rich and middle-class men very unwilling to enlist at all. Therefore he declared that he would enlist any one, even a freedman or a pauper, and pay him a small daily wage. In the legion all were to be equal. In the early days every citizen had had to spend part of his life in the army. But Marius's army was no longer made up of citizen soldiers. His men were paid soldiers, with no other occupation. Many of them remained in the army all their lives.

Marius and
the army.

The change was bad in some ways. The soldiers, who were, of course, devoted to their general, might easily be dangerous to the State. But the army had to be kept up. Since it was necessary to have soldiers always quartered in Spain, some on the Macedonian frontier, and some in Gaul, it was necessary to have a body of men who were soldiers all their lives, and spent winter as well as summer in the camp.

Marius and
politics.

Marius was an excellent soldier, but he knew very little about politics. The senatorial party would have nothing to do with him · they had always looked on him as a vulgar upstart, with no manners and no idea of how to behave. He had had no education and never learned to value what he had not got. He did not know Greek, and said it was a waste of time to learn the language of a conquered people. He had made money, and married a woman of the great Julian family ; but the senators despised him. The coarse jokes that had pleased his soldiers disgusted the patricians.

The popu-
lar party.

Marius therefore had to look to the popular party. It was led by Glaucia, a clever speaker, who could keep any audience in a good humour, and Saturninus, whom the Senate hated because he had accused Caepio. Neither of them were high-minded men, but the mob adored them. Marius did not know what he meant to do, so he joined Saturninus and Glaucia.

Murder of
Nonius.

Marius was elected consul and Glaucia praetor ; but Saturninus, who stood for the tribuneship, was defeated by a member of the senatorial party called Nonius. Thereupon he set some of his riotous followers upon Nonius : on the evening of the same day he was murdered, and Saturninus elected.

The year, begun in this manner, went on in the same way. Riots took place daily. When Saturninus brought in a bill dividing the lands conquered from the Cimbri

among Roman farmers, he called up voters from the country districts and armed them. The senators were to swear to pass the bill whatever it might contain, on pain of banishment. Marius was the first to swear, though he had promised the Senate he would not do so: he knew that Metellus would refuse, and he wanted to be revenged on Metellus. He did refuse, and left Rome. But Marius did not want to quarrel with the Senate. He began to be frightened. He tried to please both parties, and in consequence was despised by them both. By the end of the year he had become a mere nobody. Meantime Glaucia and Saturninus had frightened the business men and displeased their own party by giving land to some of the Italians. When Glaucia stood for the consulship, Memmius seemed more likely to be chosen. Murder of Memmius, 100. On the election day, in broad daylight, Memmius was murdered. This was too much. Every one turned against Saturninus and Glaucia. They were shut up in the Capitol and besieged. Marius turned off the water supply and they had to give in. To save their lives he imprisoned them in the senate-house, but a mob of business men and slaves clambered on to the roof, tore off the tiles, and pelted them to death.

Marius, disgusted with his own failure, departed to Asia on pretence of carrying out a vow he had made.

The senators and the business men had joined together for the moment, because they had been frightened by the mob. But they did not hold together long. The scandals that took place in the law courts roused the better men in the Senate to indignation. The Law Courts. The courts in question were those whose business it was to try any governor or tax-collector who had been accused of unfair dealing in the provinces, or of making the people pay more than they were obliged to pay by law. The

tax-collectors regularly made the people pay more: they thought of nothing but how much money they could get out of them. The governors sent by the Senate, too, were often bribed by the tax-collectors to say nothing. The wrongs of the provincials went unheeded, because the judges in these courts were chosen from among the knights—the business men themselves. They were not likely to condemn any one who was making them rich. No one cared for the provincials, unless some governor was honest enough to refuse the bribes and attend to their welfare. A man who did act thus was sure to be dragged before the courts when he came home, and as likely as not to be punished for his honesty. This happened in the case of Rutilius Rufus, who had been governor of part of Asia Minor and defended the people against the greed of the collectors. Although a man of the highest character, honoured by all who knew him, he was brought up before the courts on a made-up charge, tried, and condemned to exile.

Rufus,
95-92.

Drusus

This scandal roused the better men among the patri-
cians, and they found a leader in Marcus Livius Drusus.
Drusus had two objects. He wished to reform the law
courts, so that such an injustice as the banishment of
Rufus should not happen again; and he wished to help
91 the poor and the Italians. To do this he tried to get
the senators and the people to join against the moneyed
men, and brought in all his proposals in one bill. The
judges in the law courts were to be partly chosen from
the Senate. The landless men were to have allotments in
Campania and Sicily. The town poor were to have
cheap corn. In the Senate Drusus had but a handful of
supporters. The consul Philippus hated change. Caepio
hated Drusus. Many senators had shares in the tax-
collecting companies. Nevertheless the bill passed by

the votes of the people. It was known that Drusus himself looked upon this bill as only the first step. He wanted to give votes to the Italians. In this very few were ready to support him. The Senate said it would be bad to have so many more poor, ignorant voters. The selfish people of Rome wanted to keep their rights to themselves. It was whispered that there was a conspiracy on foot in the Italian towns and that Drusus knew of it.

The moneyed men saw their chance. They joined the senators to crush Drusus. Philippus came forward and declared the bill that had been passed was not legal, since by law three different proposals could not be included in one bill. One evening Drusus was going to his house and, as he parted from the friends who had walked thither with him, he suddenly fell, bleeding, at the foot of his father's statue. A dagger had been plunged into his side. He died a few hours afterwards, saying it would be long before the State found another citizen like himself. The murderer had disappeared. No inquiry was made. During Drusus's illness, some months before, prayers had been said for him all over Italy. When he died the Italians knew there was no further hope that the Romans would grant them votes. His party was crushed. A court of law was set up before which any one was dragged who was suspected of sympathy with the Italians.

But things could not be stopped thus. The news of Drusus's death went like an earthquake shock through Italy. The Italians felt that it was no longer any use to wait and trust to Rome's giving them votes. The time had come when they must seize their rights by the sword. All over Italy towns were preparing for war. An army was gathering under the Marsian, Pompeidius Silo.

Murder of
Drusus

Civil War
(The Social
War)

breaks out
at Ascu-
lum, 90.

A few months after Drusus's murder war broke out unexpectedly at Asculum. Servilius, a Roman officer, heard that the people of the town were making preparations. He hurried thither with his lieutenant Fonteius and a small escort. When he found the people gathered in the theatre for a festival, he spoke to them in a very threatening manner. Thereupon the people rose and fell upon him and his officers, and tore them to pieces. The gates of the town were barred and all the Romans found in it killed. After this the flame spread swiftly. The Marsi, Paeligni, Mariucini, Frentani, and Vestini in the centre were soon joined by the Samnites, the peasants of Campania, and the people of Lucania, Apulia, and Calabria in the south. They formed themselves into a new state, which they called Italia. Corfinium was the capital. The government was on the Roman model, with consuls and senate.

The Roman garrisons, meantime, and most of the colonies that had been placed in the Samnite and Punic wars, stood firm.

Great preparations were made on both sides. Each had nearly 100,000 men in the field. The main difficulty was, for both sides, that the war was so scattered. The rebels had to attack at least forty fortresses in their midst, the Romans to attack all over Italy. One consul, Lucius Julius Caesar, took command in the south; the other, Rutilius Lupus, in the north. All the best men in the State came forward to serve as their lieutenants, among them Marius and his rival Cornelius Sulla, Pompeius Strabo, Caepio, Perpenna, and many others. Of their own accord the populace voted that the free corn supply should cease, in order that there should be more money for carrying on the war. The whole Senate put off the toga, the dress of peace, and donned the military

cloak and tunic. The danger was great. It was known that in Asia Minor Mithridates, the king of Pontus, was preparing for war. If he or any other enemy had attacked now, Rome would have been at his mercy. But Roman luck saved them from this danger

The war began. On both sides it was carried on with great cruelty and bitterness. By the end of the first year the Italians had gained the upper hand, and there was gloom in Rome. In the south Caesar had been defeated, and the Italians had captured Nola, Nuceia, and other strongholds. In the north, 4,000 Romans under Perpenna had been cut to pieces, and Marius had gained only very small success. Caepio, after much boasting, was defeated by Pompaedius Silo and killed. Pompeius Strabo laid siege to Asculum, but things seemed so bad for the Romans that the Etruscans and Umbrians, who had held aloof, joined the rebellion. Caesar, however, passed a bill that gave votes to those who had not yet taken up arms, and this won over the Etruscans in time.

Pompeius Strabo was consul next year, and continued 89.
the siege of Asculum, which he took at the end of the year. Corfinium also fell. In the south, Sulla was carrying all before him. He gained a victory at Nola, overran Samnium, and captured Bovianum. It was Sulla.
known that he meant to be consul, and no one had so good a claim.

Everywhere the Romans gained the upper hand in this year. But the fruits of victory went to the vanquished. The war had forced the Romans to see that the time had come when the Italians ought to have their share. Rome could not always be everything and Italy nothing: it was not good that it should be so. The two tribunes, Plautius and Papirius, brought in a law that

Lex
Papiria
Plautia.

gave the citizenship of Rome to every Italian who laid down his arms and registered himself within two months. All the Italian voters were grouped together in eight new tribes. Samnium and Lucania still held out, but hopelessly. Sulla was before Nola, and it must soon fall.

88.
Mithri-
dates.

There was still war in Italy when the news came that Mithridates was in the field. A few months later messengers told that the Roman general Aquilius had been taken prisoner, his army destroyed, his fleet captured, and that Mithridates was invading Asia. He said he came to free the people of Asia from the Roman tax-collectors: he promised liberty to slaves and prisoners, and a free pardon to any one who owed money to an Italian and killed him. On a certain day the Asiatics rose: 80,000 Italians in Asia were murdered. The rebellion spread to Greece. The Athenians rose. Mithridates sent his general, Archelaus, to take any towns that remained true to Rome.

Massacre
of Italians
in Asia.
Greece.

This was terrible news. Italians had been massacred in cold blood. In Rome hundreds of business men were utterly ruined, for all their wealth came from the taxes of Asia. The civil war had already ruined hundreds more, whose wealth was in the form of land. The treasury was empty. Money was not to be had. Rome was filled with riot. Every day the news from the East was worse.

The Senate at once named Sulla commander against Mithridates; he had already been elected consul. The treasures in the temples were sold to make money. In Rome riots went on and became more serious. People were starving. Fighting took place daily in the streets. Marius had come home more bitter than ever, because he had done nothing in the war. He made an alliance with Sulpicius Rufus, an aristocrat loaded with debts, who had

Marius and
Sulpicius.

become leader of the popular party. Sulpicius was a wonderful orator. Marius paid his debts, and he brought in a bill to give to Marius the command of the war in the East that had been given to Sulla. The bill was carried amid such disorder that the consuls had to flee from the city. Sulla fled to his army at Nola. There the order came to him to hand over his army to Marius. But Marius had mistaken his man. Sulla's reply was ^{Sulla} to march upon Rome at the head of his legions. He ^{marches} entered the city with his troops, and was welcomed by ^{on Rome.} the Senate. Marius and Sulpicius fled: their followers were put to death. Sulpicius was killed by a slave. Marius, after many adventures, escaped. At Minturnae he was thrown into a prison and a Gallic slave sent in to kill him. But when the slave saw the long hair and beard and the glaring eyes of the hero of the Cimbrian wars, and heard his deep voice say, 'Man, darest thou kill Caius Marius?' he fled in terror. Marius crossed the sea to Carthage.

Sulla restored order in Rome. Octavius and Cinna were elected consuls, and took an oath to be faithful to the State. Then Sulla set sail for Greece.

CHAPTER XX

SULLA

WHEN Sulla left Italy, the whole of the East was in the power of Mithridates. His general, Archelaus, had overrun Greece. Thrace and Macedonia were in his hands.

Mithri-
dates, king
of Pontus.

88. Mithridates VI was a remarkable character. At the time of the battle of Magnesia, Pontus had been so small a kingdom that it had been left free by Rome. An earlier king of the same name had added to it Phrygia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and Armenia. After the massacre of the Italians, Mithridates was master of the Roman province of Asia, and had long been lord of the lands round the Black Sea. He had come to the throne at the age of eleven, and for years lived in fear of his life. Tradition relates that every day he took doses of different kinds of poison, larger and larger, until he became so accustomed to them that they had no effect. He was an oriental tyrant, faithless and cruel, but he had none of the indolence of Eastern peoples. All his life he was full of restless energy. He was a great linguist. No one in his kingdom was so handsome, and he could surpass any one in feats of strength, in running, wrestling, or the chase. He wished to join the Eastern peoples together against Rome, as Hannibal had dreamed of doing.

It was high time for Rome to interfere. Sulla set sail from Brundisium in the winter with an army that was small for the huge task before him. When Marius re-

formed the army, he had made the legions 6,000 instead of 10,000 strong, and Sulla had only five legions, with a very small body of cavalry.

He found Archelaus had withdrawn to Athens; on landing in Epirus, therefore, he had to march south and begin the siege. To take Athens was extremely difficult, and the danger was, as Sulla and Mithridates knew, that, when Mithridates' army landed in Greece, Sulla's men would be still before Athens and wearied by the siege. That it should happen so was the king's plan.

Athens was surrounded by five miles of high stone walls, sometimes double, with huge square towers at the gateways. The harbour, called the Piraeus, was even more strongly fortified by walls built in the time of Pericles, 55 feet high and 15 thick, of heavy stones bound by iron clamps. The citadel was impregnable. Siege of Athens.

Archelaus himself was in the Piraeus, and, as Sulla's forces were not great enough to attack both places at once, he settled down to besiege the Piraeus, while cutting off supplies from Athens itself. His own position was exceedingly dangerous. The Mithridatic fleet was between him and Italy, to cut off supplies and reinforcements. And in Italy things were going against him.

Cinna proved to be a mob leader of the lowest type. Cinna
Sulla had no sooner sailed than he proposed to recall Marius. Octavius opposed him. Cinna brought up armed Italians. Octavius set the soldiers on them, and a fearful fight followed. The Forum was heaped with the bodies of the slain. Cinna called the slaves to arms; but he was defeated, and fled to join the Samnites, who were still in revolt. Among those who joined him was Sertorius, a splendid officer, but a personal enemy of Sulla's. The Senate declared Cinna a public enemy, and named Merula consul in his stead. But

Return of
Marius,
87.

Cinna had been joined by the troops at Capua, and old Marius had landed in Italy with a body of exiles. Soon four armies threatened Rome, under Cinna, Sertorius, Marius, and Carbo. The Senate summoned the army under Pompeius Strabo, but Sertorius defeated him at a battle by the Colline Gate, and Strabo died of a lightning stroke. The Senate could not defend the city. The walls were in disrepair. Soldiers and slaves deserted to Cinna and Marius.

Marian
Proscrip-
tions.

At last they had to invite the invaders into the city, only begging them to spare the lives of their fellow-citizens. But Marius was greedy for vengeance. Terrible days followed. The streets of Rome ran with blood. Octavius was slain as he sat in his chair of office. Antonius, the greatest orator; Publius Crassus, a fine soldier; Merula the consul; Catulus, who had divided with Marius the honour of the victory of Vercellae—all shared the fate of hundreds of less note. The gates of the city were barred, and for five days and nights the horrible work went on. Marius was mad with fury, a wild beast rather than a man. As he walked through the streets with his gang of ruffians, every man to whom he nodded was cut down. The heads of the dead were fixed above the rostra—the platform in the Forum—or above Marius's house. No one was safe. Sertorius and Cinna looked on with horror. At last Sertorius put an end to the massacres by cutting Marius's ruffians to pieces; but Cinna was helpless, and Marius was elected consul for the seventh time. He lived to enjoy the honour he had so long dreamed of only for a few days. In the second month of the year he died in his bed. He had done more harm than good to his country.

Death of
Marius,
86

Cinna was all-powerful. Sulla was declared an enemy of his country, banished, and removed from his command.

His house at Rome was demolished. His villas were pillaged. All his goods were sold.

This news reached the army as it was beginning to be worn out by the long siege of Athens, and in great need of help from home. Many men had died of wounds and sickness, and the danger that Mithridates would land and attack was fearful. But Sulla's iron will would not bend. His courage did not quail. Safety and honour were at stake, even his own life. He encouraged his soldiers by sharing all their labours, and to get them food and pay he ransacked the temples all over Greece. A mint was started, and the treasures and offerings of centuries melted into money. The countryside was ravaged for food. The sacred groves of the Academy where Plato had walked were cut down for siege works. Lucullus, Sulla's best lieutenant, was sent to collect a fleet, by threats and promises, wherever he could.

All through the year 87 Athens held out. Mithridates' army was long in coming, for so great a host took time to assemble and to march. When it did at last land in Macedonia, it was winter, and the Roman governor Saturninus was able to stop the advance.

Sulla was safe till the spring. But a new danger threatened. Flaccus had been made consul on the death of Marius: he was given the command in the East, and was coming thither with 12,000 men to supersede Sulla. Sulla was between two fires. But his long endurance had not been in vain. On March 1, Fall of Athens. 86. by a desperate assault, he took both the Piræus and Athens; and Flaccus was still in Italy. Archelaus escaped by sea, with most of his army (for Sulla had no fleet), and encamped at Thermopylae, where he joined the other great Pontic army. Their troops were four times as numerous as the Romans, but Sulla had filled

his men with confidence, and they were encouraged by success.

Battle of
Chaeroneia,
86.

At Chaeroneia Sulla gained a complete and crushing victory. He lost hardly any men: of 60,000 Asiatics only 10,000 escaped. The news of the first victory over Mithridates rang through the world. Many of the towns in Asia began to return to Rome.

Flaccus had landed in Epirus, but he made a secret agreement with Sulla to do nothing against him, in spite of the orders of the home government.

Battle of
Orchomenus,
86.

Next spring Mithridates sent another great army under Dorylaeus. Once more Sulla marched quickly into Boeotia, and gained a second complete victory at Orchomenus. At first the Roman line fell into a panic, but Sulla leapt from his horse and seized a standard; then, rushing into the thick of the fight, he cried to his men: 'Soldiers, if they ask where you abandoned your general, say it was at Orchomenus!' Stung by his words, the men recovered, and won the day.

Murder of
Flaccus,
85.

Flaccus meantime drove the remains of the army out of Macedonia, and crossed the Bosphorus. Had the home government been as sensible as Flaccus, the war might speedily have been brought to an end. But Cinna and his party hated Sulla. Many of the banished senators were in his camp, and Cinna feared he would return to restore them. An officer in Flaccus's army named Fimbria stirred up a mutiny, telling the soldiers that their general was betraying his country. Flaccus was murdered, and Fimbria put in command.

Fimbria.

Sulla knew that his own life was not safe so long as Fimbria was in the field. If he attacked Fimbria to save himself, he would leave Mithridates free to win back all he had lost. Sulla had now to choose between his own safety and the honour of his country. He chose

the first. He made a treaty with Mithridates at Pergamus. The king, who had massacred 80,000 Italians four years ago, was made friend and ally of Rome. He kept Pontus, though he had to give up all his conquests in Greece and Asia, and handed over warships and a great sum of money to Sulla. Mithridates was conquered, but by no means crushed. Sulla then turned against Fimbria in Lydia. Fimbria's soldiers deserted to him, and the general killed himself.

Sulla now had a large army, a fleet, and plenty of money. He would have liked to return home to live in peace. But the government of Cinna would have nothing to do with him. If he returned he must be prepared to fight his way. He despised the popular and the senatorial party alike, but he could only return as leader of the senators.

He spent a year in settling Asia and collecting taxes that had not been paid in the last four years, and then sailed for Brundisium, where he landed with his army. He made his soldiers swear to treat the Italians as friends and fellow-citizens, not as enemies.

Carbo was now head of the government at Rome, for Cinna had been killed in a mutiny the year before.

Sulla had five legions. Though Carbo had had three years in which to make ready to meet him, no preparations had been made. He marched north without harming the country, and as he marched he was joined from place to place by various detachments led by members of the old senatorial party. Young Metellus had been in Africa: he now joined Sulla, as did young Crassus, Philippus, Cethegus, Ofella and Cnaeus, the son of Pompeius Strabo, who became one of Sulla's chief officers, although a very young man.

Norbanus and Scipio, a grandson of Asiaticus, led

armies against him. Sulla easily defeated Norbanus at Tifata, although his army was smaller. Scipio's soldiers deserted, and joined the invading army. At the end of the year Sulla was master of the whole of the south.

83. Carbo and young Marius were consuls in Rome; Sertorius had gone to Spain to gather soldiers. The temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, the most sacred building in Rome, which had been begun by the kings, suddenly broke into flames and was burned to ruins, an omen of great disaster. Sulla defeated young Marius at Praeneste: the road to Rome was open. Marius had sent an order to massacre all in the city who were inclined to Sulla: it was the last act of the party. Sulla marched right through the city and, joining Pompeius and Metellus, defeated Carbo. Gaul submitted.

Battle of
the Colline
Gate, 82.
The Samnites were still in arms; and now they marched rapidly on Rome, meaning to destroy the city before Sulla could get back to defend it. But Sulla made his men march night and day, and they reached the Colline Gate in time. The battle raged from afternoon to the following midday. Sulla's left wing was driven back on to the city; but on the right Crassus drove the enemy in flight. Then, returning from pursuit, he threw his men on to the left, and saved the day.

Rome and all Italy were in Sulla's power. In the temple of Bellona he held a meeting of the Senate. All at once a horrid sound broke in upon them 'It is nothing,' said Sulla, with his grim smile; 'only some criminals being punished.' Six thousand Samnite prisoners taken in the battle were being cut to pieces by his guards. The Romans still hoped for mercy, but Sulla was resolved on punishment. He was not mad with fury as Marius

had been ; he was coldly determined to ensure order, and for the sake of order he was prepared to be cruel. He meant to give back to the Senate full power in the State, and to make riot and revolution impossible. His first step was to have himself made dictator for as long as he chose to hold office. His second step was to destroy the popular party. Lists of names of those who were 'public enemies' were drawn up and posted in the Forum. A reward was paid by the State to the man who killed any of them ; while any one, even a near relation, who helped them to escape, was most severely punished. The first list held the names of 40 senators and 1,600 business men who had had some share in the government of Cinna and Carbo. New lists followed : no one could feel safe. Men put the names of private enemies on the lists, in order to get their property. Catiline murdered his own brother, and then wrote his name upon the list. Sulla looked on unmoved. By June 1, the day on which the executions ended, nearly 5,000 had perished, and all their property, and the property of those that had fled or been banished, fell to the State. Sulla himself and his lieutenants made enormous fortunes, and the State treasury received four million pounds.

The tomb of Marius was broken open, and his ashes scattered to the winds. Samnium was made a desert. The towns and villages were broken up and the people driven away. The land was cut up into lots and given to Sulla's soldiers. Some of them also had allotments in Etruria.

Sulla did not wish to be dictator for ever. The praise and blame of others did not stir him, and he had little ambition of the ordinary kind. He had had all the power he wanted ; he was rich ; he had succeeded. Now he was tired of hard work and office. But he meant to

Sulla's
Reforms.

build up the government of the Senate strongly. To do that, he thought murder and robbery such as he had used were necessary. He called things by the right names; he was not at all afraid of words. The people he despised. What they needed, he thought, was a strong police to keep them in order; and that he tried to build up. The Senate was made much larger and stronger. Every one who had been quaestor—the lowest officer in the State, who managed the accounts—had a seat in the Senate, and no one could be consul who had not held all the lower offices in turn. Any one who had been tribune could hold no other office at all.

Sulla did not wish it to be possible for any other general to do as he had done. The Rubicon in Umbria was made the boundary of Italy; and no general could cross the Rubicon without laying down his command. In Italy itself there was to be no army. The consuls were to stay in Italy. At the end of their year of office the Senate might send them abroad with armies, as proconsuls.

The law courts were reformed, the juries to be drawn from the senators. There were to be special courts for every kind of crime. The business men no longer had anything to do with justice. The profession of lawyer began to be most important, and all sorts of aristocratic young men went into it.

81-80. On these reforms Sulla spent a year of incessant hard

80. work. He was consul; but he would not be re-elected, since that was against one of his new laws, and next year

79. he resigned the dictatorship. But he overlooked the

Pompeius
Magnus.

illegal behaviour of young Cnaeus Pompeius. Sulla had sent him to Sicily, where he had put down the remnant of Carbo's party. Then he had crossed to Africa, and defeated Cinna's son-in-law there. He returned much pleased with himself; and Sulla, as much in jest as in

earnest, called him 'Magnus'—the Great—a name which Pompeius bore ever after. He then demanded a triumph, for, as he told Sulla, 'More worshipped the rising than the setting sun.' He had as yet held no office at all; yet Sulla allowed his triumph.

Sulla himself now retired to private life. He had always 79.
wanted to taste all that life could give, and he now returned to hunting and fishing, banqueting and revelling. His companions were men and women of wit and beauty, who amused him. Roscius, the actor, was an intimate friend. In his busiest days he had been able to forget every care when he sat down to a feast, and had puzzled the serious Romans by his ill-timed jests. Chance was his goddess—he called himself Sulla Felix, the lucky—and he believed in nothing higher.

In his country villa he busied himself with writing his own life. A year after he had retired he burst a blood- 78.
vessel, and died at the age of sixty. His body was carried from the Forum to the Campus Martius by an immense train of mourners, and there burned with the highest honours. His ashes were placed by those of the ancient kings, and the women of Rome wore mourning for him for a year.

CHAPTER XXI

SERTORIUS. SPARTACUS. MITHRIDATES

Italy after
the wars.

ITALY soon recovered from the civil wars, and now that the Italians were no longer discontented and unfairly treated, it became one nation in fact as well as in name.

Rich Romans began to discover the beauty of their own country. Charming villas sprang up all along the Latin Way from Rome to Campania, and the lovely Bay of Baiae was surrounded by houses to which tired Romans went for a few days' rest from the bustle and hurry of life at home. More money was spent in cultivating the land, and it was soon found that even where corn did not grow well the vine and the olive would flourish, while skilled slaves were brought from the East to teach the best ways of tending and planting them, and managing fruit-trees and bees. A comfortable middle class grew up in the country towns.

Rome.

Rome did not recover so easily. Sulla had rebuilt the powers of the Senate, but there were no men in the party strong enough to carry on his work, and it was soon undone. The old aristocrats had disappeared in the massacres. There were some good soldiers left—Marcus and Lucius Lucullus among them—but no statesmen. The popular party began to raise its head again. The people were discontented, because Sulla had stopped cheap corn. The business men were discontented, because Sulla had taken away from them the right of collecting the taxes and judging in the law courts, and turned them out of their special fourteen rows of seats at the

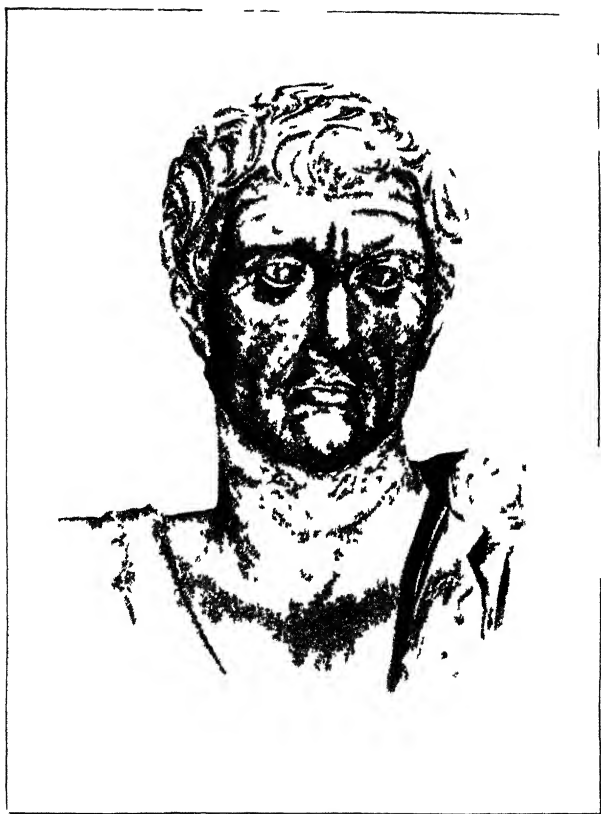
games, forcing them to sit among the common people. All who had had anything to do with the party of Marius and Cinna were eager for a change. Their relations and friends were living in banishment in Massilia, Greece, and Asia, and they themselves could not hold office. It was not easy after the dreadful years that had passed to settle down into orderly ways again. It was easy to begin rioting at elections, stoning, and drawing the sword—and much more difficult to stop. Rome was Clubs. full of political clubs, where young men of all classes met and talked and planned how they would alter things. The great business of the clubs was to get their leaders elected to some office. The secretaries kept lists of voters, and bought and sold votes at elections. They became very powerful because they could always bring up a great body of people to vote for a man they supported.

A young man who wanted to get on generally belonged to a club, and there he had to buy his popularity. It could be bought by expensive banquets, where hundreds of people were fed on all the dainties of the East—thrushes, quails, nightingales, and peacocks, rare wines and delicate fruits; or by games and shows in the theatres, combats of gladiators and wild beasts. A soldier could win great popularity, especially if he came home with a magnificent triumph. A lawyer could become famous by accusing some prominent man or saving a poor citizen when accused. 'Trial' was the favourite game of Roman boys; and a young man who did not enter the army generally began life as a barrister.

Though there were no senators able to carry on Cicero Sulla's work, there were many brilliant young men beginning to rise. At the bar the most distinguished speaker was Marcus Tullius Cicero, born in the year 106.

He was a man of no family, and this made him too anxious for the favour and approval of the great. Though very honest, he never made up his mind firmly, and as a politician he was weak. But he was the greatest orator Rome ever had. Very unlike him was the staunch conservative Marcus Porcius Cato, who wished, as his great-grandfather had done, to return to the good old times. He cared little what any one thought, so long as he did what was right. Cato had been brought up in the house of Livius Drusus.

There comes a time in any state when change is bound to arrive, when it is good, and necessary, and not to be prevented. Neither Cicero nor Cato could see this; but it was quite clear to the young man who was slowly rising to be leader of the disgraced popular party. This was Caius Julius Caesar, the nephew of Marius. Sulla had banished him, because he would not give up the wife he loved though she was the daughter of Cinna; and at the time Sulla said, 'In that boy there are many Mariuses.' Caesar had studied philosophy at Athens, and now returned to Rome to win popularity. He found it very expensive, and was, in consequence, so loaded with debts which he could not pay, that the senatorial party thought he could be no danger to them. The men who did seem dangerous were Crassus and Pompeius. Marcus Licinius Crassus had become the richest man in Rome by buying up property belonging to the proscribed, and selling it again at a huge profit. Fires were very common in Rome, where most of the houses were built of wood. When one took place, Crassus sent to the spot a gang of slaves whom he had trained as firemen. Then he offered the owners of the house a certain price for it—a very small price. If they would sell the house at that, his firemen soon put out the fire, Crassus repaired the house and sold it again for a big sum.



CNAEUS POMPEIUS MAGNUS
(Capitoline Museum)

If they refused to sell, he left the house to burn. He was a millionaire, and always growing richer, for he never rested. But Crassus wanted power as well as money. Pompeius was in his way, for Pompeius was the idol of the people. He was young, handsome, commonplace, and thoroughly pleased with himself. Though he was not a senator, and had held no office, he had triumphed twice. Pompeius was a poor speaker. He did not know what he wanted in politics, but was clever enough not to say so. As a soldier he was able.

All over the empire there was need of strong men. In Asia, Tigranes of Armenia was quietly building up a great power, taking in Syria and Cappadocia. Mithridates was as powerful as ever on the Black Sea, and busy improving his fleet and army. The Senate had refused to approve the treaty of Pergamus, but nothing was done.

In Spain, Sertorius, the one really able man in the party of Cinna, was rapidly conquering the country.

A rising took place in Etruria, and when Lepidus, one of the consuls, was sent to put it down, he and Marcus Brutus, both of whom wished to recall the exiles, joined the rebels. Catulus defeated Lepidus, and Pompeius shut Brutus up in Modena. He surrendered, on promise of his life, but was put to death by the conqueror. This affair was not of great importance; but the war in Spain was serious. Sertorius was a great leader of men. He had a body of Roman exiles with him, and soon gathered a band of devoted Spaniards. His followers called him the second Hannibal, and not without cause. Like Hannibal, he was a brilliant general and adored by his men, and like him he had lost an eye. For eight years he was really master of Spain. In Spain he did more than any other Roman had ever done to teach and train

the people and Romanize them. He built barracks for his soldiers, so that the Spaniards had no expense or trouble in housing them. The discipline was so strict that no harm was done to property or people. At Osca he started a great school for boys. Spaniards of all ranks loved him; his own bodyguard was Spanish, not Roman. Wherever he went Sertorius took with him a fawn, said to have been given to him by the goddess Diana, and his followers believed that in the night the fawn counselled him as to what he was to do.

One Roman general after another was sent against him without success—the last and best being Metellus Pius, who had been Sulla's lieutenant in the civil war. But though Metellus had far larger numbers, Sertorius remained master in Spain. After Lepidus had been defeated, Perpenna, who had been one of his officers, joined Sertorius.

- Pompeius was still at the head of the army with which he had defeated Brutus, and he asked to be sent to Spain.
76. At first his arrival made very little difference. Sertorius was besieging the town of Lauro, near Sucro; Pompeius advanced to raise the siege. But Sertorius, by superior generalship, shut Pompeius up in a position where he could do nothing but look on, while Lauro was captured
75. by the enemy and burned to the ground. In the next year he was defeated in an attack on Sertorius's headquarters at Sucro; and the year after, Pompeius and Metellus were defeated at Saguntum. Thereupon Sertorius advanced to the Ebro, fortified Calagurris, and drove Pompeius almost out of Spain. He had made an alliance with Mithridates, and knew there were many in Rome who would be glad to see him victorious, though they did not dare to say so.

Pompeius was tired of the war; so were his troops,

for the fighting was hard and there was no plunder. At last Pompeius conquered; not by arms, but by the treachery of Perpenna and some other Romans who were jealous of Sertorius. A plot was laid. Sertorius was invited to a banquet. As he rose to go, when more wine was being drunk than he liked, Perpenna gave the signal by dropping a cup. Sertorius was killed, and his guard, who tried to save him, shared his fate.

Murder of
Sertorius,
72.

After their leader was gone, the Spaniards submitted. Perpenna was captured and put to death. Calagurris was sacked with horrible cruelty, and Pompeius spent the rest of the year in conquering the other towns in Spain, returning home in 71.

The command in the war against Mithridates, which Pompeius desired to have, had meantime been given to Lucius Lucullus.

Three years before the murder of Sertorius, in 75, Third Nicomedes, the old king of Bithynia, had died and left his kingdom to the Roman people. Bithynia was important, because it stood as a buffer state between the Roman provinces in Asia and the kingdom of Mithridates. If Mithridates seized it there would be nothing between him and Macedonia. Moreover, Bithynia was rich, too rich to lose. In the winter Mithridates declared war. His army, 120,000 strong, with 16,000 cavalry, had been trained by Roman officers lent by Sertorius. The royal treasuries and granaries were full. Mithridates struck the first blow by marching into Bithynia, while his fleet guarded the coasts. Before the Roman armies under Lucullus and Cotta could arrive he had overrun Bithynia, and marched into the Roman provinces. When Cotta landed at Chalcedon his army was defeated, his fleet destroyed, and he himself forced to take refuge in the town. Lucullus now in sole command, saw that Mithridate declares war, 73.

Mithridate
War.

Mithridate
declares
war, 73.

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yzicus,
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dates was making a mistake by keeping the war in Roman Asia. Mithridates attacked Cyzicus, the most important harbour on the sea of Marmora. Lucullus encamped near enough to close him in and cut off all his supplies. Mithridates was caught in his own trap. His men suffered horribly from disease and want of food. Lucullus refused to fight a battle, as his army was much smaller. In despair, the great king at last tried to retreat. He divided his forces, but Lucullus, in spite of the snow that lay upon the ground, attacked and defeated the two armies in turn. Fifteen thousand prisoners and masses of booty were taken, and thousands slain.

74. When this good news reached Rome a terrible famine
73. was raging in the city; Antonius, who had command of the fleet, had been utterly defeated by the pirates off the coast of Cilicia; and in Italy itself a dangerous rising of the slaves had taken place. All over the country there were training-schools, generally belonging to some rich man, where slaves of great stature and strength were kept and taught to fight as gladiators. Good swordsmen fetched high prices, and men were proud of having them. At Capua there was a big training-school of this kind. From it some eighty of the slaves escaped under a Thracian named Spartacus, and hid themselves on the slopes of Vesuvius. They were soon joined by other slaves who ran away from their masters and prisons. When the praetor Claudius was sent against them, they drove him back and captured the weapons of his men. Once armed they soon gathered force.

Spartacus's
rising.

When Varenus came against them he too was defeated, and his camp taken. By this time all the slaves in southern Italy had risen, and Spartacus was at the head of 40,000 men. The war was a cruel one. All captured slaves were put to death, and Spartacus compelled 200

captured Romans to fight as gladiators at the funeral games held for a fallen slave captain. Farms and country houses were plundered and destroyed.

Next year both consuls were sent against the slaves ; but Spartacus defeated them both again and again, and moved northwards in spite of them. Then none could Crassus be got to take command, until Crassus offered himself. He thought he might win a brilliant success, and so equal Pompeius. He was energetic, and began by disciplining his troops thoroughly. Most of all he was helped by the quarrels that had begun among the enemy. Spartacus was a wonderful soldier, but he could not hold his men together for long. The different nationalities among the slaves were jealous of one another, and could not decide on any common plan.

For a long time Spartacus did keep Crassus at bay, but 71. he finally won a victory in which Spartacus was killed, and 12,000 of his followers fell with all their wounds in front. The Senate had just recalled Pompeius from Spain. As he crossed the Alps he met 8,000 fugitives. He put them to the sword, and told the Senate, much to Crassus's disgust, that 'Though Crassus's men defeated the gladiators in battle, I plucked the war up by the roots'.

In spite of their dislike of one another, Crassus and 70. Pompeius stood together for the consulship. The Senate did not trust either of them, and they saw that, if they opposed one another, neither might get in. They were elected ; but soon they were quarrelling again. Pompeius was jealous of the successes that Lucullus was winning in the East. Crassus defended and praised Lucullus, who was paying very little attention to the instructions of the Senate, in order to irritate Pompeius

By the middle of the summer of 73 Lucullus had Bithynia and Pontus overrun the whole of Bithynia. in the late autumn, in overrun.

spite of the outcries of his men, who wanted to rest, he entered Pontus. The rich and peaceful country was given over to plunder. Vast stores of slaves and cattle, gold and silver, ivory and precious stones, were sent home to Rome. Once for all the Romans saw how weak these great oriental states really were, which appeared

Lucullus. so strong. Next spring, when Mithridates came up with his army, Lucullus defeated it utterly, and spent the winter of 72 in the royal palace at Cabira training his small army for the final conquest of the strong cities of Pontus that still held out. But his soldiers were beginning to grumble at his harsh discipline. Lucullus did not know how to make himself loved by his men; he did not share their tasks and pleasures, and he sent much more of the booty than they liked to Rome. When Amisus was taken at last, after a long siege, Lucullus tried to save the beautiful ancient city, but his men rebelled and sacked it. By the autumn, Pontus was

71. entirely in Roman hands. Lucullus did not wait for orders from home, which would probably have been orders for his recall. Instead, he marched against Tigranes of Armenia, with whom Mithridates had taken refuge. His army was hardly 20,000 strong, and he knew little of the country. But he showed himself a great general; above

Armenia. all, he knew exactly what he meant to do. Following the great caravan route, he completely defeated a huge

69. Armenian army, and laid siege to Tigranocerta. Tigranes came against him with a vast army; Lucullus drove them before him like sheep; Tigranes fled for his life, and Lucullus took Tigranocerta. He went into winter quarters in Armenia. After such victories he compared himself to Alexander, and planned to conquer Persia and Parthia next year.

But his soldiers refused, and Mithridates had stirred

up Tigranes to resistance. He had gathered another army. Lucullus then decided to take Artaxerta, the capital of Armenia, said to have been planned by Hannibal when he was with Antiochus. Tigranes was again defeated, and Lucullus marched upon Artaxerta. The ground was covered with snow ; snow fell down from the branches of the trees. The horses' legs were cut by the ice as they crossed the rivers. At last the men refused to go any further. Clodius, his brother-in-law, who was one of his officers, was in Pompeius's pay. He told the men how much better off they would be under Pompeius, who was meantime doing all he could to get Lucullus recalled. The soldiers broke into open mutiny. News came from Rome that Glaucia was coming out to take over Lucullus's command. Mithridates had returned to Pontus, and was gathering an army. All Lucullus had done seemed to be lost. 68.

He came home angry and embittered. The fruits of victory had been snatched from him : he felt dishonoured, and it was not till three years later that he held his magnificent triumph. Among the trophies that he brought with him from the East was a cherry-tree, the first ever seen in Italy. Cherry-trees were soon planted up and down the country.

Lucullus retired to a magnificent house with superb grounds and gardens, where he lived in such luxury that it became a proverb. His banquets were famous all over Italy. There was no dish too rare or too expensive to be found in his house. But in the race for glory he had been left behind : Pompeius had passed him.

CHAPTER XXII

CAESAR. POMPEIUS. CRASSUS

NEARLY all the enormous wealth that Lucullus sent home from the East went into the pockets of the rich. All over Italy money was very scarce. A few people had a great deal; the rest had very little. The luxury of the rich made the poverty of the poor harder to bear. Men like Crassus, Pompeius, Sallust, and Lucullus had magnificent palaces with gardens in Rome, and beautiful villas with grounds all over the country. Even Cicero had a fine house in a fashionable part of Rome and two or three villas. They spent great sums on food, dress, and amusements for themselves and their friends. Young men lost fortunes at dicing and racing. Meantime the farmers, small traders, merchants and shopkeepers became poorer, and food grew dearer. In 73 there had been a famine in Rōme, and since then things had not got better.

Pirates.

One reason for the dearness of corn was the pirates. They were masters on the high seas. When Caesar sailed to Rhodes as a young man, he was captured by them on his way, and had to pay a big ransom to get off. The pirates ruined the trade of Italy. The price of corn went up and up, and none came in from Sicily and

Famine in
Rome

the East. In 67 there was another terrible famine; it came at the same time as the news that Lucullus had been forced to retreat from Armenia. The question of the food supply was the only interest of the moment. No one cared for anything else. Armenia did not matter.

What was wanted was that the pirates should be crushed. Antonius, who had been sent against them with a fleet, had been shamefully defeated. A very strong hand seemed needed. Pompeius was the man. A follower of his, Gabinius by name, proposed in the popular assembly that a special commander should be appointed, with extraordinary powers on land and sea for three years, to put the pirates down. He might levy ships and men as he chose, and twenty-four senators were to serve as his officers. It was the right of the Senate to appoint commanders; and they did all they could to throw out the Gabinian law. No one was named, but, of course, Pompeius was intended. If he were appointed, he would be as powerful as Sulla had been. Caesar, who led the popular party, was loud in favour of the bill, but Piso, the consul, and Catulus, the leader of the Senate, were fierce against it. Gabinius was nearly killed by a senatorial mob led by Piso; and soon afterwards Piso only just escaped alive from the angry populace.

In the end Pompeius was appointed. He at once prepared to crush the pirates. The task was not really so difficult as it seemed. The pirates had grown dangerous mainly because no very strong force had been sent against them. Pompeius had a very strong force indeed. He divided the seas into nine districts, and gave one of his lieutenants command over each. The pirates were filled with terror. After one or two defeats off the coast of Cilicia, most of them submitted when Pompeius promised to spare their lives. At the end of forty days the seas were cleared.

In Rome Pompeius was the hero of the hour. It was well known that he wanted to go to the East. A tribune of no importance, Manilius by name, brought in a bill giving him the same power in Asia that he had

Gabinian law, 67.

Pompeius crushes the pirates.

Manilian law, 66.

on sea, for as long as might be necessary. He was to be above all the other generals there.

The Senate had disliked the Gabinian law. The Manilian was even more distasteful to them. Again their right of appointing commanders was overlooked. Pompeius was to be made more powerful than ever. But once more they found they could do nothing. Catulus and Hortensius thundered against the Manilian law in vain.

Pompeius
in the East,
66-62.

Cicero spoke for it. Caesar supported it. Pompeius was appointed, and went to Pontus at once. There his task was an easy one. Lucullus had done the work. The prize fell into Pompeius's hand. His campaign was a triumphal progress. His army was much larger than that of Lucullus had been; the men were fresh, eager, and full of confidence in their general. Phraates, King of Parthia, had refused to join Mithridates, made an alliance with Rome, and prepared to invade Armenia. In Pontus, Mithridates retreated before Pompeius; but at last he was closed in, and in a battle that took place in the darkness of night the king was defeated and fled for his life with a few horsemen. Tigranes refused to aid him, and put a price upon his head. Mithridates then withdrew to his possessions round the Black Sea, where he began to collect an army.

Pontus.

Armenia.

Pompeius marched into Armenia, settled the kingdom, and made Tigranes a subject of Rome. His sons were kept in chains to walk in the general's triumph. Pompeius then returned to Pontus. There twelve kings visited him to receive his pardon, and saluted him as the king of kings. Towns were re-named after him. Both he and his officers amassed prodigious wealth. The sale of prisoners as slaves, and the ransoms of those who could afford to buy their freedom, made him as rich as Crassus. Phraates was the one enemy

who remained. Pompeius was too cautious to risk an expedition into a huge, unknown country like Parthia. He sent his lieutenant Afranius to drive Phraates out of the part of Armenia that he had invaded—Gordiene, while he himself marched into Syria by an easier route through Cilicia. Without any trouble he made Syria ^{Syria, 64} a Roman province, paying tribute to Rome. In all this Pompeius had met with wonderful good fortune, and his luck held. News now came that Mithridates, the one dangerous enemy, had died in the Crimea. His own son ^{63.} had risen against him, and forced him to commit suicide. Pompeius marched on through Phoenicia, collecting ran- ^{Phoenicia.} soms as he went. Only one town resisted him, Jerusalem. The city was easily taken, but the Temple held out stubbornly, until Pompeius noticed that the defenders always rested on the seventh day. He made an attack ^{Jerusalem.} on the sabbath, and took the Temple. In it he was astonished to find no images and statues, and left the treasures untouched.

Palestine was made a province. Pompeius then went ^{Palestine.} back to Pontus, settled the kingdom, and slowly made his way home by Ephesus, Rhodes, and Athens. A crowd of kings followed him, and vast masses of treasure; he seemed an Alexander already. Sulla had never been ^{62.} so powerful.

In Rome, meantime, the Senate, which had lost all the ^{Caesar.} power which Sulla had given it, watched Pompeius's growing power with alarm. Even the popular party, whose hero he had been, began to be frightened. Pompeius was far the greatest and strongest man in the State. No one thought of Caesar. But Caesar was very slowly working^{*} his way up. Serious men distrusted him because he had lived wildly as a young man, drank, and gambled, and spent his time with actresses

and buffoons. He had spent more money than he possessed on games and shows for the people. Though he was a brilliant speaker, he had been unlucky in the law courts, and had lost every case. Nevertheless, he was quietly making himself a leader. One day all the statues and images of Marius, which had been destroyed by Sulla, were replaced in the Forum, glittering with silver and gold. Caesar, the nephew of Marius, had done it. The people were delighted. The Senate hated Caesar more than ever.

But Caesar saw that he could only keep himself popular by spending money. He had already spent much more than he had got. There was one man in Rome who, as Caesar knew, would do much and go far in order to thwart Pompeius. This was Crassus. Crassus had wealth and to spare. Very soon an alliance was made between Caesar and Crassus. Crassus paid Caesar's debts. Caesar gave Crassus the support of the popular party.

The
popular
party.

Caesar's great difficulty was that most of the members of the popular party were men of hopelessly bad character, who would have liked nothing better than the old days of Marius and Cinna back again. Caesar wanted the people to govern; but most of the men in his party only wanted more money and better positions for themselves. Their war-cry was 'abolition of debt'; they wanted all debt swept away. This cry terrified the people who had lent money, and all the well-to-do. The leader of those who wanted the abolition of debt was L. Sergius Catilina. Catiline was the head of a set of dissipated and reckless young men, who would do anything to get money. His bad character was well known, but he had been elected to all the usual offices of state, and Cicero had defended him in a lawsuit. But

Catiline.

when he stood for the consulship the rich men were 65
frightened. They got Clodius to accuse him of having
taken bribes when governor of Africa ; and this prevented
his standing for election in that year.

Catiline, however, was not to be got out of the way so easily. Rumours soon began to spread that he and his friends, Lentulus, Cethegus, and Calpurnius Piso were preparing a conspiracy. The names of Caesar and Crassus were whispered about, as being mixed up in it. Nothing certain was known; but there was a great deal of alarm, and the consuls went about armed. Finally, it all came to nothing, for the signal was given too soon. No inquiry was made. Next year Catiline, nothing daunted, stood again for the consulship. The Senate had no strong candidate, and Antonius, one of the popular party, was sure to get in. To keep Catiline out, the senatorial party supported Cicero, though they had always looked down upon him as a 'new' man. Antonius and Cicero were elected. Antonius went off to Macedonia to make money and Cicero was left to manage affairs at home. He felt it was the great moment of his life.

First Catilinarian conspiracy, 64.

Cicero consul, 63.

Catiline was furious; and a second conspiracy was soon on foot. Cicero was full of fears. He came down to the Senate with a cuirass under his toga, and went about surrounded by armed men. What was going on he did not know. Manlius was said to be gathering soldiers in Etruria, and Piso in Spain. Cicero had no proofs, but he was thoroughly frightened; and senators and business men for once joined together in a common fear that Catiline would abolish debt. Cicero's spies kept bringing in stories, and after Catiline had again stood for the consulship for the next year and again been defeated, he really became desperate. However,

Second Catilinarian conspiracy.

when Cicero attacked him in furious speeches in the Senate, he sat quietly through it all, until he found that all the senators had left the bench on which he was. On the same evening he fled from the city. Cicero talked of massacres, rebellion, and civil war ; and at last he got hold of a proof. The other conspirators lost their heads when Catiline left Rome. They went to some ambassadors from the Allobroges, who happened to be in the city, and asked whether their people would help in a rising. The Allobroges showed Cicero the letters given them by Lentulus and the others , and Cicero read them before a crowded meeting of the Senate. The letters were quite vague ; but Lentulus, Cethegus, and three others were arrested at once. Cicero demanded that they should be put to death, and called upon the Senate to vote that they should die. The first senator to speak voted for death, and so did all who followed, till Caesar's turn came. He was suspected, though unfairly, of having had a hand in the plot. Nevertheless, he warned the Senate that it was illegal to put a Roman citizen to death without allowing him to appeal to his fellows. As he left the meeting a body of furious knights threatened him with swords ; and Cato, who spoke after him, urged that the conspirators should die. They were condemned. Nearly the whole Senate escorted Cicero to the prison. The conspirators were let down into the dungeon and strangled. 'They live no longer,' said Cicero, as he passed through the Forum. Cato hailed him as Father of his country ; and he felt that he had saved the State.

Fate of the
conspirators.

This happened in December, 63. In January, 62, Catiline, who had gathered a small army, was defeated and killed at Pistoria.

For the moment Cicero was popular and Caesar more distrusted than ever. Metellus Nepos, a lieutenant of

Pompeius, arrived in Rome to stand for the tribuneship and demand next year's consulship for his master, who was to return then, but wished to be elected without coming home to stand.

The Senate, led by Cato, thwarted Nepos in every way, and did all they could to irritate Pompeius. They refused to allow him to stand for the consulship without coming to Rome. Cato opposed Nepos for the tribuneship, and Nepos would have been killed in the streets if Caesar had not saved him.

The Senate was giving Pompeius every excuse to come home at the head of his army. He disapproved of the execution of the Catilinarians without the right of appeal, and did not read the defence of his own action that Cicero had sent him. His friend Nepos, a tribune, whose person was sacred, had been nearly killed in the streets. While the Senate irritated Pompeius, Caesar proposed that the great general should finish the rebuilding of the Capitol, instead of Catulus, who had already wasted sixteen years on the task and kept part of the money granted for the purpose by the State. This pleased Pompeius.

Every one in Rome dreaded what he might do. Most people expected him to march like Sulla at the head of his legions. But Pompeius was no Sulla. He had not the courage to do anything illegal. He landed at Brundisium, dismissed his soldiers to their homes, and arrived at Rome at the head of a small escort. He had thrown away his chance. In Rome he found no one really wanted him, and, without his army, no one feared him. The Senate continued to cross him in everything. Lucullus, Crassus, and Cato opposed him in turn. He wanted the consulship. It was refused. He asked that what he had done in the East should be approved and his soldiers given allotments of land.

Return of
Pompeius,
62.

Endless difficulties were made. Time went on and on. Pompeius celebrated a gorgeous triumph. But, without his army, he was helpless.

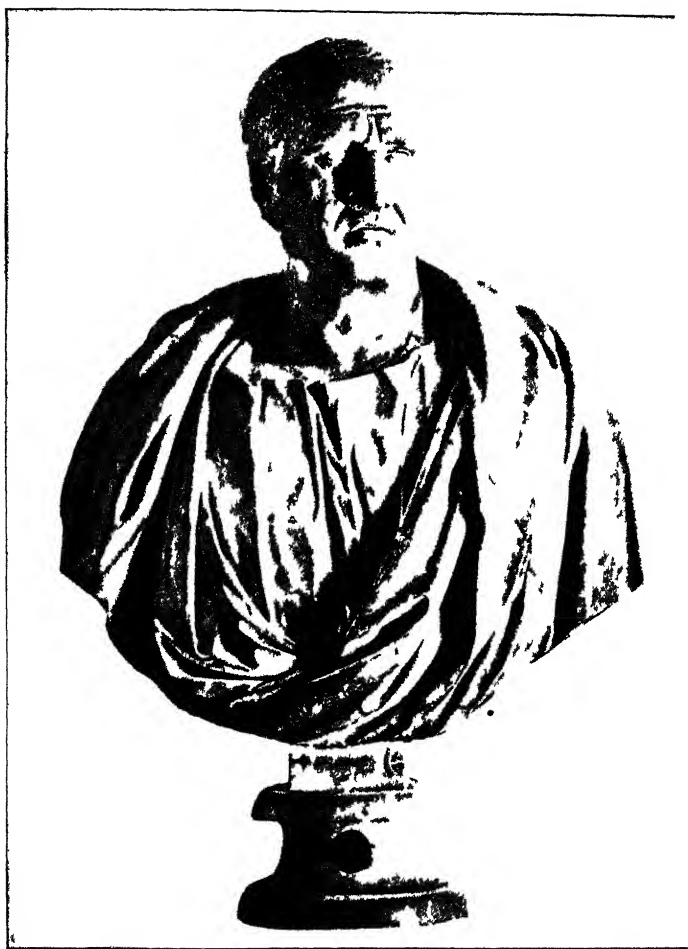
63. Caesar had seemed lost at the time of the Catilinarian conspiracy. In that year he stood for the office of Pontifex Maximus—the chief official of the State religion. As he left his house, he told his mother, Aurelia, to whom he was devoted as long as she lived, that if he failed in this he should leave Rome. He felt despairing.
62. But he was elected. The next year Pompeius came home.

About the same time an affair took place which caused great excitement in Rome. In the house of Caesar's wife the festival of the Bona Dea was being held. Only women took part in it, and for a man to be in the house was an offence against the gods. Clodius was in love with Caesar's wife, and he managed to get into the house, dressed as a woman. He was discovered, and a fearful scandal took place. Cicero was called as a witness, and said he had seen Clodius in Rome that day, though Clodius swore he had been out of the city. Clodius was acquitted, but he vowed vengeance on Cicero. Pompeius would give no opinion, and pleased nobody. Caesar divorced his wife, because, as he said, 'Caesar's wife must be above suspicion.'

- 61-60. The next year Caesar went to Spain, and for the first time had a chance of showing his brilliant powers as a general.

As time went on people began to feel that Cicero had done wrong in putting the Catilinarians to death. Caesar, who alone had stood out against it, gained popularity. When he came back from Spain, he stood for the consulship.

The only man in Rome Caesar needed to fear was Pompeius. If the Senate had had Pompeius on their side,



MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
(Capitoline Museum)

they could have crushed Caesar. But the Senate had kept Pompeius waiting for three years without rewarding his soldiers, and Pompeius was deeply hurt. Caesar could do everything for Pompeius that Pompeius wanted. The only other man who had much real power was Crassus. Crassus was devoted to Caesar, but hated Pompeius. If Caesar could bring Pompeius and Crassus together, the three united would be irresistible. It seemed difficult, but Caesar was not apt to find things impossible. Each could see how much he must gain by the help of the others. Caesar's rare charm did the rest: and by the end of the year the three strongest men in Rome were bound together. The first Triumvirate was formed. It was a private bond: at first no one knew of it.

The first
Triumvi-
rate.

Caesar was at once elected consul for 59. Marcus Bibulus, the other consul, was a weak and narrow senator, who disapproved of everything Caesar did, and shut himself up to watch for unfavourable signs in the sky. The wits said the consuls were not Caesar and Bibulus, but Caius and Julius. Caesar at once passed a land act that settled all the common land in Italy in a satisfactory way. Pompeius's soldiers were given their allotments. What he had done in the East was approved. Cato opposed to the last, and there were great disturbances, but everything was passed. Pompeius had married Caesar's daughter Julia, and no one could resist the Triumvirs. Their wishes had the force of laws. At the end of the year a tribune named Vatinius brought in a bill giving Caesar a command in Gaul for five years such as Pompeius had held in the East. The Senatorial party allowed the law to pass, for they were glad to get Caesar out of Italy. But in Gaul Caesar would not be very far away, and he could winter at Lucca or Ravenna. Until he had an army he knew he was not equal to

Caesar
consul, 59.

Vatinius
law.

Pompeius. Pompeius was made head of the commission for dividing the Italian common land into lots. Cato was banished, for he had sworn to overthrow the Land Bill. Caesar offered to take Cicero as a lieutenant to Gaul, but Cicero refused. Thereupon Clodius insisted that he should be banished from Rome as well as Cato.

In the spring of 58 Caesar left Rome and went to Gaul.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE RULE OF THE TRIUMVIRATE

SINCE the victories won by Marius, Southern Gaul had been a Roman province, but from that time the country as a whole had never been at peace. The tribes of the north and west were perpetually attacking the frontiers of Roman Gaul. The province bounded on the north by the towns of Tolosa, Vienna, and Geneva was far richer and more civilized than any other part of the country. The free Celtic people were still in a very rude state. They were occupied in cattle-farming, and there was some trade, for sailing-ships plied between the northern coasts and the island of Britain, at a time when the Romans used only rowing vessels. Art, too, they had of a kind. Verses were sung at festivals telling the deeds of former heroes or the praises of the gods ; and the beaten metal work used for weapons and domestic vessels was beautiful. All these Celts had a common religion, conducted by high priests called Druids, but, though they joined in this and in hatred of the Romans, they were not united in one nation. Each clan had its own chief. The Belgian clans were loosely bound together, and the coast tribes joined against the tribes of the centre ; but quarrels went on constantly among the single clans. Across the Rhine dwelt the Germans, a people of another race and very dangerous neighbours. Already some half-German tribes dwelt across the Rhine—the Nervii, Treveri, Suevi and Eburones, fiercest and most

warlike of the tribes; and there was a constant danger that more would sweep across the Rhine. Long ago the Roman government had seen this, but they did nothing. They trusted to their allies. Strongest of these were the Aedui, the sworn foes of the Arverni, and 'brothers of the Roman people'. But the Sequani and many Belgian tribes would rather join the Germans than the Romans.

71. In 71 the Germans under Ariovistus crossed the Rhine. The Sequani joined them; the Aedui were defeated. The Aedui appealed to Rome in vain, although their king, Divitiacus, came himself in 61. Instead, for the sake of peace, Ariovistus was hailed as the 'friend of Rome', although he had settled his people in the land that he had conquered from the Aedui. From the mouth of the Rhine down to the Atlantic the whole German nation was on the move; they threatened Gaul all along the eastern frontier. The Helvetii, crowded in their own small country, were preparing to march towards Aquitania.

Caesar in
Gaul, 58-
49.

Such was the state of things when Caesar came to Gaul in 58. For the next nine years he remained there. In Spain, one of his officers had found him in tears over the life of Aléxander the Great. 'Have I not cause for distress,' he cried, 'who have done nothing, at the age when Alexander ruled over so many conquered countries?' In Gaul he appeared a new man. He was delicate. From his youth he had suffered from terrible headaches, and from epileptic fits, then called the 'falling sickness'. But he now won the devotion of his men by sharing every toil and hardship with them. He ate their food and slept with no more comfort than they had. As he rode on the march, he dictated letters to his secretaries and wrote his book of commentaries on the war.

Caesar's army consisted at first of four legions, though

he enlisted more when in Gaul, and a body of cavalry. Among his officers were Titus Labienus, Publius the son of Crassus, Quintus the brother of Cicero, Caius Pansa and Marcus Antonius.

He first marched against the Helvetii, who had gathered 58. in immense numbers with their women and children near Geneva. Caesar, who had only one legion on the spot, marched thither with wonderful speed, broke down the bridge across the Rhone, and closed in the narrow road between Lake Lemman and the Jura mountains by setting his men to build a long line of ramparts. The Helvetii had to change their route. While they were crossing the Saone, Caesar, who had collected his other legions from Aquileia, fell on them, and defeated them with great slaughter. The Upper Rhine was safe. Then, ambassadors came from the Aedui to implore help against Ariovistus. Officers and men were terrified of the unknown Germans, but Caesar marched north with a swiftness that took Ariovistus completely by surprise. They met at Mulhausen. The numbers of the Germans 59. were very much greater, but the heroism of the Roman soldiers was inspired by the dauntless courage of their general, and they carried everything before them. Ariovistus was utterly defeated, and the Middle Rhine saved.

During the winter the Belgae gathered their forces, 57. and early in the next year Caesar marched against them before he was expected. The Belgians had collected a vast army, but the clans could not hold together; the great army melted away and was beaten in detachments. The most dangerous tribe was that of the Nervii. While Caesar's men were building a camp they suddenly found themselves surrounded on all sides by this enemy. At first everything seemed lost. The Nervii routed Caesar's cavalry, surrounded the men of the 12th and 7th legions

and killed their officers. Caesar himself saved the day. Calling on the men of the 10th legion to follow him, he seized a buckler from the hands of a soldier and rushed into the ranks of the barbarians, encouraging his men with word and deed. At his call the 10th legion rushed down from the heights where they were posted, and mowed down the enemy like grass. The Nervii stood their ground bravely, but they were utterly defeated, and out of 60,000 men not more than 500 escaped alive.

56. When the news of his great victories came to Rome, the Senate ordered a festival, lasting fifteen days, to be held in Caesar's honour. People began to see the greatness of Caesar rising above that of Pompeius. In Rome Pompeius was behaving feebly. He was lazy, and a poor speaker. Clodius was master in the city, and the streets were full of disorder from morning to night—disorder which no one seemed able to stop. Pompeius retired to his own house, shut himself in, and did nothing. Many people in Rome felt that the Republic was drawing to its end. The events of the last fifty years showed how much the State needed a strong man to guide it. But the Romans hate the idea of a king, and the Senate hated Caesar. They began to attack his laws; and Pompeius did not defend them. He was growing jealous. Cicero was back in Rome, and he proposed that Pompeius should be given a special post as manager of the corn supply.

Conference
at Lucca,
56.

Caesar saw all that went on. In the end of the year 56 he spent the winter at Lucca. Hundreds of the most prominent men in Rome waited upon him, so that it was said that the little town was full of lictors. Among them came Crassus and Pompeius. They had been quarrelling again; but Caesar's charm prevailed. The enemies were reconciled, and the Triumvirate was renewed. Pompeius saw that he could do little without

Caesar. The Triumvirs agreed that Caesar was to have five more years in Gaul when his five came to an end, and then was to be allowed to stand for the consulship without coming to Rome for election. Pompeius was to have an army in Spain ; Crassus, who longed for military glory, was to manage the war in Syria. So the Triumvirs decided, and the Senate could do nothing, though Cato was furious.

Caesar returned to Gaul and made a successful expedition against the tribes of the coast. The Veneti were defeated at sea. The road over the great St. Bernard Pass was repaired, and the way between Italy and Gaul made clear. Next year Caesar defeated the Usipetes and the Tencteri, who had crossed the Rhine ; and then determined to finish his conquests by crossing the sea and attacking the unknown island of Britain, which was supposed to be of vast size. Many persons did not believe it to be a real country at all. Caesar feared that the Britons might invade Gaul and thus nullify his conquests ; he wished to terrify them so that they would not do so.

Publius Crassus had crossed two years before, but won no great success. Now Caesar went himself. At first he had some difficulty in crossing, and his fleet was so much battered by storms, as it lay off the coast, that it was all he could do to get back to Gaul in it before the winter came on. Next year he landed again with larger forces. The south was easily overrun, and the people fled before him into the interior. Cassivelaunus, lord of Middlesex, showed great skill in defending the country, for he retreated before the invader, burning and destroying all provisions. As the Roman army advanced it was in danger of being surrounded and separated from the fleet. No victory was won, and Britain was not con-

56.

55.

Invasion of
Britain.

54.

Cassive-
launus.

quered ; but Cassivelaunus promised to pay tribute, and there was no fear after this of a British invasion of Gaul.

When Caesar returned to his quarters, he was met with the news of the death of his daughter Julia, Pompeius's wife. Her death broke up the bond between Caesar and Pompeius. Both had loved her dearly ; and now Pompeius's envy and distrust of Caesar broke forth. Caesar had been generous to him at Lucca—that only deepened his dislike.

First
rising.

Aduatuca.

53.

While Caesar was away in Britain several tribes in Gaul had been preparing to rise. Caesar had stationed his legions at some distance from one another because provisions were short. At the extreme west, near Aduatuca, was one under Sabinus and Cotta. Suddenly they found themselves closed in on every side by the Eburones. Ambiorix, their king, was the leader of the insurrection. He got the Roman officers into his hands on pretence of an interview ; then they were disarmed and put to death. Without their officers, the army was cut to pieces. At the same time, the legion under Quintus Cicero was shut in by the Nervii and in serious danger. Days passed and Caesar knew nothing, until at last a single horseman made his way through the Nervian lines and brought the dreadful news of the disaster at Aduatuca and the danger of Cicero. Caesar did not waste a moment ; with the small force he had with him he attacked and defeated the Nervii, and saved Cicero and his legion, just in time. Caesar's appearance in the field broke up the insurrection ; one after another the different clans—Treveri, Carnuti, Nervii, Senones and Menapii were subdued. The Eburones' fate was an example to others ; their lands were ravaged from end to end, the people hunted down and blotted out of existence. By the end of 53 the rising seemed to be

stamped out and all danger at an end. As a matter of fact, it became more dangerous than ever in the next year, because a real leader appeared in Vercingetorix, a noble among the Arverni. He dreamed of a free, united Gaul, and by means of this great idea soon gathered most of the tribes of Central and Southern Gaul together. The Aedui, however, the most important clan in the south-east, hated the Arverni too much to join with them. Vercingetorix knew that there were disturbances in Italy, that attacks on Caesar were being made there, and he hoped that Caesar might be called away.

But while the rebels were trying to win over the Aedui, and preparing an attack on Narbo, in the depths of winter Caesar unexpectedly appeared. Marching swiftly through the territory of the Aedui, he joined his troops.

Vercingetorix meant to imitate the plan of Cassive-lanus. He burned and destroyed towns and country so as to draw Caesar on into difficult and unknown regions by the need of provender. More than twenty cities of the Bituriges were burned, but Avaricum was spared, and became the centre of the war. Caesar at once attacked it. A long and weary siege followed. The town was crowded, and soon began to suffer from famine. Caesar, too, had great difficulty in getting food for his army.

At last the starving citizens of Avaricum tried to leave it, and the town fell into Roman hands.

Caesar now sent Labienus with part of his army to capture Lutetia, while he himself marched straight into the land of the Arverni and laid siege to Gergovia, their capital. The town was well provided with food and arms, and Vercingetorix with his army encamped just outside. Caesar was not strong enough for a blockade. The Aedui, meantime, were preparing to join the revolt,

when Caesar suddenly appeared among them with one legion, and by the terror of his presence frightened them into faithfulness. With the same speed he was back at Gergovia. But he was not strong enough to take the place. After an unsuccessful assault, he had to withdraw. It was his first failure, and the news of it spread like wildfire through Gaul. The invincible Caesar had been driven back. At once the Belgae rose, and the Aedui revolted and captured Noviodunum, the Roman magazine of war. Rebellion spread everywhere. Except the Remi, the whole Celtic nation, from Rhine to Pyrenees, was under arms.

Rising all
over Gaul.

Alesia.
52.

Many of Caesar's officers advised a retreat, and wanted to ask for assistance from Rome. Vast hosts of rebels were gathering at Alesia. Vercingetorix was the life and soul of them all, and he defended the town, which had very high walls and 70,000 men within them. Another Celtic army was assembling from all parts of Gaul. Caesar had been joined by Labienus and set his men to draw two lines of circumvallation; an inner one round the town, an outer against the armies gathering to relieve it. He was between two great armies. The Gauls expected him to be utterly defeated. But, instead, he gained a great victory, which made an end for ever of all the hopes of the Celts. Never had he shown more brilliant generalship. Alesia was taken. The Celtic army was completely defeated, and turned and fled in confusion. Vercingetorix declared that, since he had failed to free his country, he himself would pay the price. Clad in full armour, and mounted on a splendid horse, he was handed solemnly over to Caesar. He had shown courage and skill as a general. His last act was that of a chivalrous knight; but a great man would, like Hannibal, have carried on the fight even when it seemed hopeless. With Vercingetorix all

the hopes of his countrymen fell; the Celts were helpless without him.

Caesar kept Vercingetorix to walk through the streets of Rome in his triumph, and spent the rest of the year in crushing the Bellovaci, Bituriges and Carnuti. By the end of the next year all Gaul was subdued.

But Caesar did not work for the moment only; he did not 51.
leave Gaul until the whole country was not only conquered but Romanized. His conquests, unlike those of Pompeius in the East, endured. The stamp of Rome was set on North-Western Europe for ever. When Caesar went to Settlement of Gaul.
Gaul, the wild hosts of the north were ready to swoop down upon Rome, as they had done under Brennus. For more than four hundred years they were held back. Caesar was a statesman as well as a soldier. He did not try to uproot the religion of the Celts, or to change the habits of their lives. But soon Roman money, Roman language, Roman weights and measures were used everywhere throughout Gaul. In every clan Caesar showed favour to those who had supported the Roman side, and made men Roman supporters by giving them rich gifts. Even Vercingetorix had only been able to hold the Celts together for less than a year; Caesar used their jealousy of each other to keep them all weak.

In these years, when Caesar was working hard in Gaul, things had moved fast in Rome. Pompeius was no longer a friend to Caesar even in name; Crassus had been defeated and killed at Carrhae in Parthia (53). Crassus was Crassus in Parthia.
a fair soldier and he had a fine army; his son Publius, who had been with Caesar, served as his lieutenant. But no Roman general at this time knew anything of Parthia, nor of the way in which the Parthians made war. Crassus made the mistake of marching into a vast and unknown country. There his army was surrounded.

THE UNIVERSITY OF
RECEIVED

by the Parthian horse-bowmen, who shot the Romans down from a distance and fled when they were attacked in their turn. In the battle of Carrhae young Crassus was killed and the Romans defeated; the next day the father was entrapped and slain. His head was carried to the Parthian king, who was watching the performance of a Greek play, in which one of the actors had to come on bearing a bleeding head. He brought the head of Crassus, amid shouts of joy.

Neither Crassus's defeat and death in Parthia nor Caesar's victories in Gaul caused any great excitement in Rome. Much more interest was felt there in the daily quarrels of Clodius with Milo, candidate for the consulship, which ended in the murder of Clodius, on the Appian Way, by a gang of Milo's ruffians. Riots took place in the streets, and the government was helpless.

54-52. All the Senate could do was to make Pompeius sole consul for six months—Cato would not have him called dictator—and put him at the head of a special court to try all cases of disorder. Pompeius was at the height of his power. Crassus was dead; Caesar in danger of his life in Gaul—the world was at his feet. When he fell ill, prayers went up for him all over Italy. He said he need only stamp his foot to have all the soldiers he wanted.

But Pompeius, unlike Caesar, had not the power to see things as they were; nor the strength of character to seize the greatness that he longed for, even when it seemed to be within his grasp. He still pretended to be the champion of the Senate. He took Metellus Scipio as consul with him, and began to attack Caesar in every possible way. His promises at Lucca were all cast aside. He got a tribune to bring in a bill ordering Caesar to lay down his command a year earlier than had

51.

been agreed upon, and come to Rome for election if he wished to stand for the consulship.

Caesar did not want to quarrel with Pompeius. A quarrel between them, he knew, meant war. On the other hand his life would not be safe if he came to Rome without his army. Pompeius would have him killed on some charge or other. And, by law, he must dismiss his army when he came to Rome.

Pompeius had lent Caesar two legions when he went to Gaul; he now asked for them back. Caesar sent them at once, but the men were so devoted to him that they were not likely to be of much service to another leader.

Pompeius talked. Caesar went quietly on with the work in Gaul. He declared that he was willing to disband his army, as soon as Pompeius would do the same. Curio, a brilliant young aristocrat of the wild, extravagant type, proposed, in the Senate, that both generals should lay down their commands. It was carried by a huge majority. But Pompeius flatly refused. Curio thereupon fled to Caesar at Ravenna. 50.

The question of Caesar's recall had not been settled. Again and again the Senate put off the discussion. At last, in January, 49, it took place. Curio read to the Senate a letter, in which Caesar recorded his services to the Republic, and stated he was willing to lay down his arms if Pompeius would do the same. The Senate declared it was a dangerous letter and refused to vote on it. 49. Lentulus, a friend of Pompeius, proposed to fix a day on which Caesar must unarm on pain of high treason; he said nothing about Pompeius doing the same. Metellus Scipio, Pompeius's father-in-law, supported Lentulus. Marcus Antonius and Quintus Cassius, two tribunes, vetoed this proposal. For four days the debate went on.

Antonius and Cassius were at last expelled from the Senate and threatened with swords, although, as tribunes, their persons were supposed to be sacred. They fled for their lives in a hired carriage, dressed as slaves.

When Caesar heard what had passed, he left Ravenna with the 13th legion. After he had spoken to the men, and told them how unjustly he had been treated and how the tribunes who tried to defend him had been attacked, they all cried to him to advance on Rome. At the Rubicon he paused. It was the boundary of Italy. If he crossed it at the head of his soldiers he declared war on the government. He paused, but his soldiers dashed across the stream. 'The die is cast,' said Caesar, and he crossed in his turn.

CHAPTER XXIV

CAESAR

WHEN he crossed the Rubicon and prepared to march upon Rome, Caesar had but one legion with him. The others were still in Gaul. Yet, though everything seemed against him, his keen eye saw that the moment had come to strike.

The Senate seemed to have an overwhelming power. Italy was in their hands. They had all the supplies, all the money and provisions. All the provinces save Gaul would stand by them. The sea was theirs. Eight disbanded legions were in Italy, seven of Pompeius's in Spain, and two that Caesar had sent back were under arms.

But Caesar saw the weakness of the government. They were not united among themselves. The Senate had no general but Pompeius, and Cato saw and said that, once Caesar was defeated, they would have a war against Pompeius. Pompeius was a good general, but no statesman, and as a general he was slow, whereas Caesar was marvellously rapid in his movements. It would have taken Pompeius as long to get the eight legions in Italy under arms and to bring the seven from Spain, as for Caesar to bring his from Gaul. And Caesar's army was a wonderful body of men, trained to the very highest point and devoted to their leader. Labienus, who was jealous of Caesar, was the only man who left him when he crossed the Rubicon.

The terror of his name was such that as he marched March on
Rome.

from Ariminum towards Rome, no one resisted. The towns opened their gates. There was a panic in Rome. Pompeius was away, collecting soldiers, and in the city no one knew what to do. The consuls and most of the senators fled from the city, in such haste that all the money of the State was left in the treasury, and betook themselves to Brundisium, from whence they meant to cross to Greece.

Caesar marched on. His soldiers had orders to shed no blood. Picenum submitted. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had been made governor of Gaul, was in Corfinium, but he deserted the town and left the garrison to their fate. The town was kindly treated, and Caesar sent Domitius's baggage after him. He then marched south, to try to stop Pompeius and the senators at Brundisium, but Pompeius defended the town with skill, and all his forces got away before Caesar could prevent them.

Mildness
of Caesar.

In March, Caesar entered Rome. He was the nephew of Marius and the son-in-law of Cinna, and there were many who feared and some who hoped to see the bloody days of the proscriptions renewed. But Caesar had not come to destroy. No lives were taken; the property of those who had fled with Pompeius was spared. All the bitterness was on the side of the senatorial party. Caesar showed none.

Italy and Gaul were now in his hands; but all the rest of the empire was in the power of the Pompeians. They had all the lands from which money came in to Rome, and all the lands from which corn came. They meant to starve Italy out.

The corn
supply

Caesar's first task was to conquer the corn supply. He left Marcus Antonius in charge of Italy, sent Curio with an army to conquer Sicily, and himself set off for Spain, where the Pompeians had a large army under two

good captains, Petreius and Afranius. Ahenobarbus was in Massilia. In thirty days Caesar built a fleet, which he left under Decimus Brutus, his admiral, while he went on to Spain. The army he had sent on was shut in between two flooded rivers, on which all the bridges had been broken down, save one at Ilerda, held by Petreius and Afranius with their army. The Romans had no provisions. Caesar himself was shut in too. But a train of provisions from Gaul halted on the far side of the flooded river. Caesar made his men build coracles, such as he had seen the Britons use, of twigs and leather, and in this way got a legion across, which soon repaired the bridge, captured the provisions, and shut in Petreius and Afranius in their turn. Their army surrendered; the men were pardoned, and many entered Caesar's ranks. Spain was in his hands. On his way back he took Massilia. News met him that Curio had proved himself an excellent officer, as Caesar had foreseen, and had taken Sicily and Sardinia. Cato, who was defending Sicily for the Senate, had fled to join Pompeius. Curio then crossed to Africa, but there he was slain in a battle with Juba of Numidia.

Battle of
Ilerda,
49.

Italy was safe. Corn flowed in from Spain, Sicily and Sardinia. Caesar was made dictator and spent eleven days in Rome restoring order. Then he sailed for Greece, where Pompeius was encamped near Dyrrachium.

There Caesar, who wished to avoid shedding Roman blood, tried to get Pompeius to have a friendly meeting, but Pompeius refused. He was in a strong position, and his numbers were greater than Caesar's. He felt sure of victory.

Pompeius
at Dyrra-
chium.

Caesar now tried to provoke a battle. His men were short of food, until they discovered that a root that grew in the fields made excellent bread when pounded down

Fighting
at Dyrra-
chium.

with milk. In their scorn of the enemy they used to throw loaves of this bread over the entrenchments, saying, 'So long as the earth produces such roots we shall besiege Pompeius!' Caesar kept his men busy building lines of circumvallation to shut in Pompeius's army, while Pompeius's men built similar lines between Caesar and the sea. At last two Allobroges in Caesar's army deserted and showed Pompeius a weak place in the lines. There an attack was made. Caesar was forced to retreat and leave his camp after losing 2,000 men. He was in great danger of defeat, but Pompeius did not pursue. 'This day,' said Caesar, as he withdrew to his tent in his new camp near Apollonia, 'fortune would have declared for the enemy if they had had a general who knew how to conquer.'

Caesar's strong will drew new courage from defeat. He marched south into Macedonia to meet Metellus Scipio, who was bringing reinforcements to Pompeius, for he hoped Pompeius would follow him thither.

In the camp of Pompeius there was great rejoicing. They felt the victory was as good as won. Some sent their friends and servants to engage new houses for them in Rome, others quarrelled as to who should be head of the College of Priests after Caesar's death. Most were eager for another battle to end the war, and grumbled at Pompeius's delays, though the wise plan was to wear Caesar out by delay, so long as they held the sea. They complained that Pompeius prolonged the war in order that he, as commander-in-chief, might go on lording it over the senators. Ahenobarbus called him 'Agamemnon', or 'king of kings',—a jest which annoyed Pompeius, who cared much for what men said of him. As Caesar had hoped, he left Dyrrachium and joined Metellus Scipio

on the Enipeus near Pharsalia. There the other officers persuaded him to offer battle.

On the morning of the 9th of August, Caesar was preparing to move his encampment when the scouts ^{Battle of Pharsalia, Aug. 9, 41} rode up and gave the joyful news that the enemy were preparing to attack. Pompeius's troops were 43,000 strong to Caesar's 21,000; and he placed special trust in the numbers and excellence of his cavalry. He placed them on the left wing under Ahenobarbus, meaning them to surround the 10th legions, led by Caesar himself. Caesar understood this plan and saw that his own cavalry would be routed by the enemy. Behind them, therefore, he placed a reserve of archers and infantry; after their own cavalry had been driven back, they attacked Pompeius's victorious cavalry unexpectedly, and Caesar won a victory on his right wing that decided the day. Pompeius did not trust his infantry, and when he saw the cavalry, in which he had placed all his hopes, in full retreat, he despaired. He left the field and hid himself in his tent. Then his army, deserted by their general, broke in pieces. Caesar pursued them to their camp; as night fell it was stormed, and the defeat became a rout. Fifteen thousand of the enemy lay upon the field, and nine of their eleven eagles had been taken. Pompeius's camp amazed Caesar's men. In the tents, which were crowned with myrtle, the walls were hung with ivy, the tables decked with flowers and laden with cups of gold and silver.

The victory of Pharsalia made Caesar master of the world. Pompeius had fled. His army no longer existed. The princes of the East hastened to submit. Many senators did the same. Cato, who had not shaved nor cut his hair since Caesar crossed the Rubicon, escaped with the remnant of the army to Africa, to resist the conqueror to the last.

Pompeius meantime had fled to Egypt with a handful of attendants. The affairs of Egypt were in great confusion. Two years ago the king had died and left the throne to his two children, Cleopatra, aged sixteen, and Ptolemy, aged two. The vizier, Pothinus, had driven Cleopatra away, and she was in Syria, plotting for her return. When Pompeius's messengers arrived asking king Ptolemy that he should be allowed to land, the crafty vizier, who knew Caesar had already started in pursuit, invited him to come down from his ship for an interview.

Death of
Pompeius,
48.

Then, under the eyes of his wife and son, Pompeius was murdered by the treacherous Egyptians. When Caesar landed, a few days later, Pompeius's seal was handed to him, with the news of his great enemy's death. He turned away, with tears in his eyes, when the bloody head of his old companion was shown him.

Egypt.

The affairs of Egypt were now to be settled. The treasury was re-ordered. Cleopatra and her brother were called before Caesar. But the people of Alexandria, a great, rich city, were indignant that a Roman general should appear with only two legions and control their affairs. Pothinus was furious and began plotting against Caesar, who spent night after night, when his hard day's work was done, feasting in the palace with the enchanting Cleopatra. Suddenly a dangerous insurrection broke out. Caesar's men were but a handful in the city. To save his fleet from falling into the Egyptians' hands, he set fire to it himself as it lay in the harbour. The flames spread from the dock to the palace, and the great library, the most wonderful in the world, was burned. Caesar himself only escaped with his life by swimming across the harbour, holding up one hand as he did so to keep dry some valuable papers. At last, Caesar's reinforcements came from Cilicia, and he gained a complete

47.

victory in a battle on the Nile. Pothinus was put to death. Cleopatra and a younger brother made rulers. Peace and order was restored. By March, 47, Caesar could leave Egypt. First he had to invade Asia, where Asia. Pharnaces, king of the Bosphorus, had been making conquests in Pontus, and defeating Caesar's officers. Caesar settled the affairs of Asia so quickly and thoroughly that he wrote home, 'I came, I saw, I conquered.' Veni, vidi, vici.

Early in September he was in Athens, and in October in Rome. Some soldiers had mutinied in Italy, but when Caesar addressed them sternly as 'Citizens', instead of 'Fellow soldiers', they begged to be taken back to the service on his own terms. Affairs in Rome were set in order. Caesar was made consul. In December he sailed for Africa.

Cato had insisted that Metellus, who had been consul, Africa. should be commander instead of himself, though Metellus was a stupid man and a bad officer. Metellus wasted the year of Caesar's absence in the East by quarrelling with the people of Utica, where the Romans were quartered. No use was made of their great fleet, and it did not even prevent Caesar's landing at Ruspiha. Then, in spite of Cato's advice, Metellus Scipio was eager for battle. He had defended the town of Thapsus so strongly that it was like a mark set up for Caesar to attack. This was a great mistake, for in a vast country like Africa his best plan would have been to wear Caesar out Battle of Thapsus, April 6, 46 for want of provisions. The plain of Thapsus made a good battle-ground for Caesar's infantry, a bad one for Metellus's cavalry. Caesar won a complete victory. Scipio and his army were blotted out, while Caesar lost very few men. Only Cato, in Utica, was left. When the news of the battle reached him, he made up his mind to live no

longer. After spending the evening in talk of philosophy with his friends, he retired to his chamber and opened his veins, so as to let himself bleed to death, saying, as he did so, 'Now I am master of myself.' When Caesar heard it, he said, 'Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou couldst envy me the glory of sparing thy life.' Cato's son was spared by Caesar, and his daughter, Portia, married to Marcus Brutus, a Pompeian whom Caesar had pardoned and loved much.

Africa was made a Roman province. After Caesar had defeated the sons of Pompeius, in Spain, at the battle of Munda, all danger of war was at an end, and Caesar was master of the Roman world.

He turned to the task of rebuilding the State. He was a great soldier, but a statesman first of all. Till he was forty he had never commanded an army. As a statesman he believed in the ideal of Caius Gracchus—government of the people for the people: and he believed that the government must be by the people, up to a certain point. Always, at the head there must be one man. After 450 years there must be again, above the assembly, and above the Senate, an officer with full power. The name of king was hateful to the Romans. Caesar never took it. When Antonius offered him a kingly crown he refused it amid the shouts of the people. But he was king in all but name. Each year he was made dictator and chief of the Senate. He wore the purple robe, and his statue stood beside those of the seven kings. The month of his birth was called July after him. In name he was only 'Imperator'—he had only that title, given by the army to their general on the field of victory. In reality he was all-powerful, and he used his power nobly and wisely. He was never idle. In his sleepless nights he planned improvements in Latin grammar. The laws were improved. The

Battle of
Munda, 45.

Caesar
imperator



MARCUS JUNIUS BRUTUS
(Capitoline Museum)

calendar was reformed. Magnificent buildings were planned

Caesar saw what could be done, and what even he could not do. He wanted to rebuild the State to be strong as it had been once, and all that one man could do he did. Every part of the State was in confusion—the army, the navy, the treasury, the law courts, the government. The condition of the poor was wretched. Trade was upset. Years of disorder and war had broken up the peace of life. And the bitterness of strife was not dead. The aristocratic party, which had been defeated, hated Caesar and feared him, though they had been treated with wonderful generosity. The popular party was disgusted with his mildness to their enemies and by the fact that he had not made them as rich as they had hoped. Caesar went on his way. He made no favourites. He paid no heed to complaints

The powers of the Senate and the Assembly were once more what they had been under Servius Tullius. The Assembly of all citizens, with the Emperor at its head, voted peace and war, made new laws or changed old ones. The Senate gave the Emperor advice when he asked for it. The keys of the treasury were in Caesar's hands; it was managed by his clerks, under his eye, with wonderful skill. He found the State hopelessly in debt. By reforms, by wise economy and wise expenditure, the treasury was fuller at the end of 44 than it had ever been before.

Caesar helped the poor. He found that 320,000 persons got free corn from the State daily, simply because they were citizens. In future it was given only to 150,000, who really needed it because they were poor.

The pay of a soldier in the army was less, Caesar found, than that of an agricultural labourer. So long as

this was so, soldiers could not be prevented from trying to make money out of the people in the provinces where they happened to be quartered. Caesar raised the pay, and improved the army in many other ways. In one thing only he failed. He did not want the army to be the strongest power in the State. He did not want another general to be able to do what he had done. He disbanded his Gallic soldiers and settled them in homes as far away from each other as possible, in different parts of Italy. But in spite of all his efforts, the thing was done. He had made himself master of the Roman world by force of arms, and only force of arms could keep him so. The army at his back was the secret of his power, as it was of the power of the Emperors who came after.

Caesar did not dream, like Alexander, of conquering the world. He wished for peace and good government. The Thames, Rhine, and Danube satisfied him as boundaries. But he meant to avenge the death of Crassus at Carrhae. The Euphrates was to be the boundary in the east. In the spring of 44 he prepared a great expedition against Parthia. He had been in Rome only fifteen months in all, and had done his great work within that time. Marcus Antonius was to be left in charge in Italy, and Caius Octavius, Caesar's grandnephew, was to go with him as his lieutenant to Parthia.

But the angry spirits in Rome were plotting against him. Caesar knew that he went in constant danger of murder—but he believed in fate and was careless of his own life. In battle he had always rushed into the thickest of the fight. Fear was unknown to him. A soothsayer stopped him one day and warned him to beware the Ides of March (March 15); but on the 15th he went to the senate-house as usual, although his wife,

Calpurnia, had had bad dreams and implored him not to go. In the Senate Metellus Cimber fell on his knees before him and begged for the return of his banished brother. Caesar refused. Cimber and his friends pressed round him. As Caesar turned away, Casca struck him in the neck with his dagger. It was the signal.

At once the Emperor found himself closed in by drawn daggers and furious faces, among them many whom he had pardoned, treated with kindness and raised to high place—Caius Cassius, Decimus Brutus, Cimber, and Marcus Brutus whom he had especially loved. Against so many he was helpless. Trebonius, another conspirator, detained Antonius outside; the senators had fled in terror. At the foot of the statue of Pompeius, which he had himself caused to be honourably set up, Caesar fell, pierced by six and thirty wounds. Marcus Brutus bathed his hands in the blood, and lifting his dagger aloft, cried that he had freed Rome from a tyrant. He called on Cicero and others, who had known of the conspiracy, to rejoice. The conspirators strode through the streets, some forty in number, expecting to be received with triumph. But the people were terrified. When Caesar's body was borne through the streets to be burned in the Forum, many wept and lamented; and when Marcus Antonius read the will the murdered dictator had left, there was a tumult. Caesar had left his own gardens and gifts of money to the people. A riot took place, in which Cinna the poet was torn to pieces because he was mistaken for one of the conspirators who bore the same name.

Murder of
Caesar.

Brutus certainly, and perhaps others among the conspirators, had acted from high motives. Brutus believed Caesar to have been a tyrant, an enemy to Rome. But the condition of things which followed his death showed how much they had been mistaken. The great mind

and will were gone which had held the State together and maintained order and justice. The old confusion and disorder returned. Years of civil war followed. Antonius was resolved to avenge Caesar; so was Caius Octavius, his heir. And Brutus and Cassius were not the men to govern the State. They listened to Cicero making speeches in the Senate against Antonius, after Antonius had left Rome; and then went off to their provinces, Brutus to Macedonia, Cassius to Syria, Decimus Brutus to Gaul.

Second
Trium-
virate, 43.

Meantine Antonius, Caius Octavius and Lepidus, an old officer of Caesar's, had bound themselves together in the second Triumvirate. Antonius and Octavius had armies: the three divided the provinces between them. Lists of names were drawn up for execution, among them being most of the conspirators, including Cicero. Cicero's head was brought to Rome, and as it stood nailed up on the Rostra, Fulvia, the wife of Antonius, ran her bodkin through the tongue that had spoken bitter words against her and her husband.

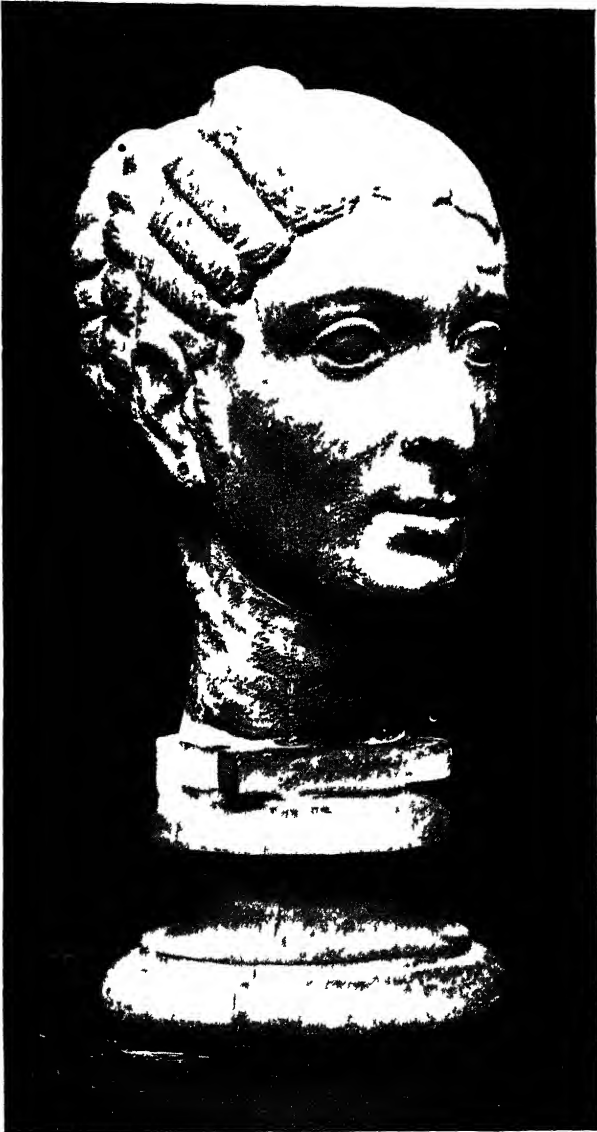
Mutina,
43.

Decimus Brutus was defeated at Mutina, Antonius and Octavius met Marcus Brutus and Cassius at Philippi. In the night, an apparition had appeared to Brutus and told him, in the voice of Caesar, that they should meet at Philippi. On the morrow the battle took place. Cassius and Brutus were defeated and killed.

Battle of
Philippi,
42.

Thus, Antonius and Octavius had avenged the death of Caesar. They soon turned their swords upon each other, and for ten years it was uncertain which of them was to be master of the world. But Antonius went to the East and found there in the charm and beauty of a woman—that Cleopatra who had fascinated Caesar as a girl—something more wonderful and precious than power or empire. At Actium the cool-headed, cold-

Actium, 31



CLEOPATRA (?)
(British Museum)

hearted Octavius defeated him. When Antonius was dead, there was no one to stand against Octavius. He had long ago taken the name of Caesar ; he now succeeded to his throne. Under him, the Empire which Caesar had founded was established firmly, to last as long as the power of Rome.

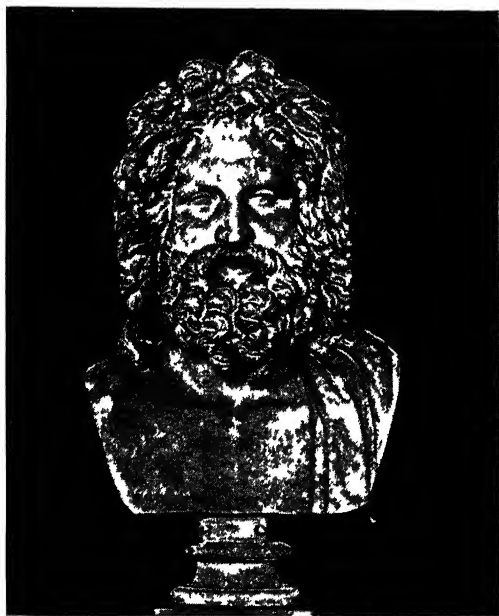
Caesar's mark was set for ever on Rome and on the world ; his work lasts to this day ; he stands high among the great men of the world, in many ways

‘ the noblest man
That ever lived in the tide of times.’

CHAPTER XXV

ROMAN LITERATURE

BEFORE the end of the first Punic war, the Romans had hardly anything in the shape of written literature. At the games and festivals, especially in the country places, verses were sung in chorus, and little plays sometimes acted; but the verses were not generally written down. They were handed on, like the early legends, from father to son, improved and added to as time went on. Real literature did not begin in Italy until the Romans began to know the writings of the Greeks. The earliest poem in Latin of which we know anything was a verse translation of Homer's *Odyssey*, done by a certain Greek prisoner of war from Tarentum, who being made tutor to the Livian family was given the name of Livius Andronicus. Livius used the old Latin metre, the metre of the folk songs: he was the only poet to do so. All the others used Greek measures as well as subjects. Gnaeus Naevius, who began writing while Livius was still alive, and is the first really Roman poet, did this; but besides translating all sorts of Greek plays into Latin verse, he wrote a play called 'Clastidium', which relates how a Roman consul won a great victory over the northern Gauls, and killed the Gallic chief in battle with his own hand. In some unknown manner Naevius drew upon himself the enmity of the powerful family of the Metelli. He was banished from Rome. It was while in exile that he wrote his great epic on the long struggle that was just ended — the *Bellum Punicum*. This is now completely lost, like all the works of the early Latin



ZEUS (JUPITER)
The Otricoli Head)

writers ; but in Naevius's own time, and for generations afterwards, it was read by every one with the greatest admiration. Vergil was said to have put into the *Aeneid* many passages from the *Bellum Punicum*.

Greater than Naevius was Quintus Ennius. As a young ^{Ennius.} man Ennius served in the army ; then he came to Rome, and settled down there under the protection of Scipio Africanus, who was the centre of quite a literary circle. All the later poets regarded Ennius as the first Roman master ; it was he, said Lucretius, who 'first brought down from lovely Helicon a garland of evergreen leaf, to sound and shine through the nation of Italy'. Ennius lived to seventy, and wrote diligently—tragedies, comedies, translations, grammar, and epic. The *Annales*, a history of Rome in hexameter verse, from the landing of Aeneas down to his own time, is lost, as are all his other writings, save for a few lines ; but some of the few lines show how great a thing he had already made of the Latin language, and help one to understand why Cicero and all later Romans admired Ennius so much.

'By men and character the Roman state stands fast' ('*moribus antiquis stat res Romana virisque*'), he said, and his verse has the severe grandeur of the early Roman days.

Pacuvius, the nephew of Ennius, wrote a play about ^{Pacuvius.} Aemilius Paullus, the victor of Pydna ; but all the other early Roman writings are in some form or other adaptations from the Greek. Most of them are Greek plays in Roman dress. The only ones that are left are comedies, adapted from the lost plays of the Greek comedians Menander and Diphilus. Rude farces and pantomimes formed a regular part of the festivals : Plautus, Caecilius, and Terence wrote comedies that were performed with success in Rome, although the people had already begun to care more for races, games, and gladiatorial shows.

The works of Caecilius are all lost, but enough of those of Plautus and Terence remain to enable us to judge Roman comedy. They are the only comedies we have, so it is impossible to tell how far the plays are original, how far mere translation.

Plautus. T. Maccius Plautus was the son of poor Umbrian peasants, who came to Rome at the time of the Hannibalic wars, and earned his living as a stage carpenter. His plays show him to have been a man not of the finest taste but full of life and joyous spirits, although he was always poor, and had to work hard for his living. He wrote a great deal; twenty comedies of his remain. They are lively, well written in easy, admirable Latin, and full of humour of a rather coarse kind: two, the *Captivi* and the *Rudens*, can still be read with pleasure.

Caecilius. After Plautus's death Caecilius was esteemed the first playwright in Rome for comedy and tragedy. One day while he was at supper a young man appeared, sent by the managers of the games to read to him a play called the *Andria*, which he had sent in to the judges. Caecilius

Terence. bade the youth sit down on a stool and begin. Publius Terentius (Terence) had not read far when Caecilius bade him come up and sit by him at the table; after they had supped together, he heard the rest of the play with admiration. Terence had been born at Carthage, soon after the battle of Zama, and came to Rome as a slave. He soon rose to fame. Scipio Africanus made him one of the inmost circle of his friends; and he and Laelius heard his plays when they were first written, and helped the young author with their advice. Scipio was eager to improve and purify the Latin language; and all the educated men in Rome admired the pure elegance of Terence's verse and the beauty of his style. The people cared little for his plays; there was none of the buffoonery

in them that they enjoyed. Terence died young, but in the six plays we have left there is no sign of want of finish. He says himself, 'Nothing can be said that has not been said already'; but what he says is well said. It is in the *Self-tormentor* (*Heautontimoroumenos*) that the great line occurs :

'I am a man : nothing human can be foreign to me.'

After the death of Terence no more comedies seem to have been written ; and for the next hundred years very little verse of any sort. A contemporary of Terence's, another member of Scipio's circle, named Lucilius, in- Lucilius. vented a new form of poetry, which he himself wrote copiously. This was what he called *Sermo* or *Satura*, and was simply talk in verse on all the subjects of interest of the day. Lucilius describes, for instance, a banquet at the house of a friend, a journey through Italy, an embassy on which he went with Scipio to Egypt and Asia. The everyday incidents of daily life are the matter of this new type of verse, of which the Satires of Horace are the finest example.

Scipio and all his circle were eager students of Greek literature, and helped to spread the influence of Greek thought in Italy. It was the mark of a well educated man to know Greek, and to have studied the great works of Greek art and literature. Against this rule of Greek, old Cato fought hard ; he wanted to save Latin literature from becoming a mere imitation. All Cato's many works Cato. have been lost : his speeches, the *Origines*, the great historical work of his old age, and all the numerous improving handbooks he wrote on useful subjects, except one, the treatise on agriculture known as *De Re Rustica*. This gives a fairly good idea of his harsh but forcible style. Most of it is severely dry and practical.

Cato's influence did not prevail, but in the stormy years of Gracchus and Marius, Cinna and Sulla, there was little peace for literature. The greatest written work of Rome was, however, steadily going on—jurisprudence. The wonderful system of Roman law was being drawn up, ordered, and written down. A great treatise on civil law was composed by Mucius Scaevola, which became the textbook of Roman barristers and the foundation for all later writers. Scaevola, like the great orator Marcus Antonius, fell in the proscriptions.

Suddenly, after so many years of silence, a really great poem appeared. At the time it seems to have been hardly noticed. We know almost nothing about the author. But the *De Rerum Natura* ('On the Nature of Things') is one of the glories of Roman literature, and Lucretius ranks with the few immortal poets of the world. He was born in the stormy years just before the outbreak of the social war, and died while Caesar was in Gaul. Nothing is known of his life, but he was a member of an aristocratic family and a profound student of philosophy as well as a poet. Lucretius is the greatest philosophic poet that ever lived. His work deals with the manner in which our world came into being when the atoms met and rubbed against each other: for nothing, as he says, comes from nothing; he describes how, gradually, life arose upon the earth, trees and flowers, men and animals; how men learned to use fire and steel; and how they now make themselves wretched because of their fear of death and what may come after it. Nothing comes after it, Lucretius says. A man can only live now: after this life there is no other: the atoms that made up the human being are separated once more and join again in new ways as the years go on. Death, when a man has to leave all he holds

dear, seems terrible : but, when he dies, his feelings and longings die with him : he sleeps for ever, without dreaming : that is all. Lucretius's outlook upon life is melancholy ; but he is never a preacher of weakness or depression. His tone is lofty and inspiring ; unwearyingly he sought after truth, and let nothing stand in his way. He foreshadowed many of the most recent discoveries of science. When research was entirely unknown he guessed in a marvellous way at the secrets of the future and the past. His whole work shows a wonderful power of thought and supreme imagination. Lucretius is sublime, and the severe dignity of his verse is often magnificently beautiful. His language is the grandly simple speech of the great age of Rome, more like that of Ennius than of the other writers of his day. They were all busy studying the works of the later Greek writers, the Alexandrian school. Exquisite little books of verse appeared, with only a few choice lyrics in them, but those full of out-of-the-way ideas, expressed in an unusual manner. Many of the wealthy young men of Rome wrote poetry in their leisure moments. Caesar and Cicero both wrote poetry in their youth ; and there was a brilliant group of young men, headed by Cinna, Calvus, and Catullus, who wrote verses that were of a much higher quality. These young men all lived wildly, rushing from banquet to banquet, keenly interested in politics, the law courts, and the races: all three died young. Far the most brilliant of the group was C. Valerius Ca- Catullus. tullus, born at Verona, and one of the most wonderful of Roman poets. He died at the age of thirty-three, and his small volume is mainly made up of lyrics, love-poems more passionate and glowing than any in literature except Sappho's. The centre of Catullus's life was his love for the woman he calls ' Lesbia '—she inspired all his greatest

poems. Lesbia was the sister of the notorious Clodius and the wife of Caecilius Metellus. When he died it was more than suspected that she had poisoned him. Clodia, like her brother, was quite reckless, and a woman of vicious character. She finally betrayed Catullus, and his life was poisoned by her falseness. The poems he wrote then are terrible to read. Her power of fascination must have been marvellous. Catullus says that he hated and loved her at the same moment, but that the man who sat and looked into her eyes seemed to him more than a god. Cicero, who hated her, speaks of those 'great blazing eyes'. Certainly, all the poems Catullus wrote to her are wonderful: beautiful and full of the most vivid life. They are immortal. Catullus also wrote one longer poem and two exquisite marriage hymns, a little poem on the death of his brother, and a few addressed to friends. That is all. But as Lucretius had taught the Latin language to express the highest and loftiest of human thoughts, so Catullus made it express the most intense, joyous, painful, and passionate of human feelings. They are the two great poets of the Roman republic. There were no others of the same rank. The age in which they lived was an age of prose, of war, politics, and the law courts: its great names are Cicero and Caesar.

Cicero. As a writer Cicero stands first. The greatest of all Roman orators, he wrote prose which has been the model for all later ages. His writings fall into three classes. First, his speeches. He began life as a barrister, and rose to fame by his work in the law courts. His first really great speech was that delivered against C. Verres, who was accused of appropriating public money in Sicily. One of the finest of all is that for the Manilian law, in which Cicero gives a most splendid and eloquent description of the greatness of the rule of the

Roman people. The long sentences roll out like fine music from an organ, and echo long afterwards in the memory. In the defence of the poet Archias, Cicero himself has praised literature in words that can never be forgotten, nor better said, though they lose half their force in translation from the clear brevity of the Latin. 'Literature is, indeed, the spur of youth, the recreation of old age: a delight in prosperity, a refuge and a consolation in adversity: a joy by the fireside that is no hindrance to a man's work in the world: a companion in the sleepless night, on journeys, and in the country.' Nor can any one wonder who reads the Catilinarian Orations that the wretched man who had to sit and hear them thundered against himself fled headlong from the assembly, 'abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit.' In his later years Cicero's style as an orator lost its simplicity and became journalistic. The speeches against Antonius are unconvincing and overstrained. But it was in these latter years, after he came back from the banishment that practically ended his political life, that Cicero wrote the philosophical works that were studied more thoroughly and admired more deeply than any others throughout the middle ages (*Tusculan Disputations*, *De Finibus*, *Academica*, *De Natura Deorum*, *De Officiis*), also his treatise on Oratory (*De Oratore*) and his beautiful essays on Friendship and Old Age. Cicero was mistaken in thinking himself a politician. He was too excitable, too undecided, too anxious to please, to succeed in politics. This can be clearly seen in his admirable *Letters*, which tell us more of the daily life and men of the time than any other record we have. It is owing to Cicero's letters that we know the Rome of his day so well. The best of them are written to Cicero's great friend, the banker Pomponius Atticus, whose slaves copied out all Cicero's

books for him. To Atticus Cicero showed himself as he was; he hid from him none of his troubles, and worries, and hopes, and fears. From them we know Cicero as well as we know Pope or Tennyson.

Sallust. Caius Sallustius Crispus, a wealthy man who owned beautiful gardens next to Pompeius's, wrote a history which is lost, and lives of Jugurtha and Catiline which we possess. As they were written from his own knowledge, and as he took great pains to collect evidence, they are very valuable, but Sallust's style is poor, an unsuccessful imitation of Thucydides. The one great historian of the time was also the greatest man of the age—Julius Caesar himself. He wrote a history of his conquest of Gaul in eight books (the last finished by one of his officers). He calls it merely *Commentarii*—notes; but it is history of the most admirable kind, perfectly simple, absolutely clear, arranged in the most masterly manner. He wrote in order to justify what he had done; and although in all his books he never makes any comment or explanation or defence, no one can read them without being perfectly convinced that all he did in Gaul was wise and well done. The *History of the Civil War*, though planned by Caesar, was not executed by himself. His speeches, which were considered equal to Cicero's, are unfortunately all lost.

With Caesar the Republic came to an end, and the later literature is that of the Empire. The names of Horace and Vergil belong to the new age that began under the rule of Augustus. The greatness of Rome was in the field of war, administration, and, above all, law: but Lucretius, Catullus, and Cicero are unforgettable names in the history of literature.

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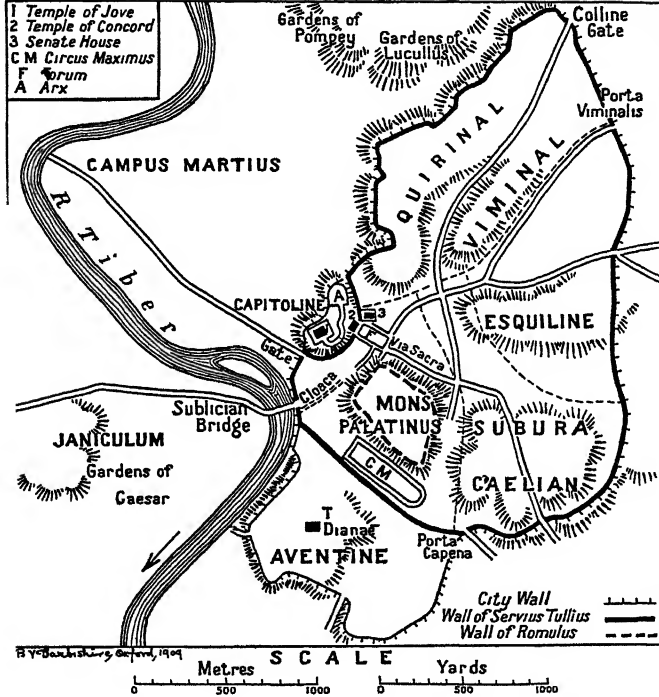
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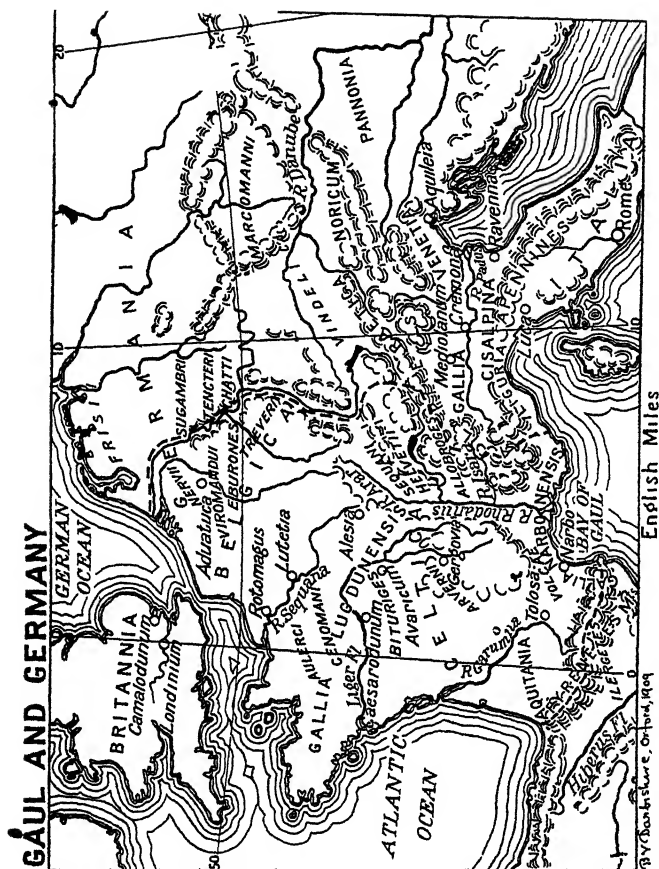
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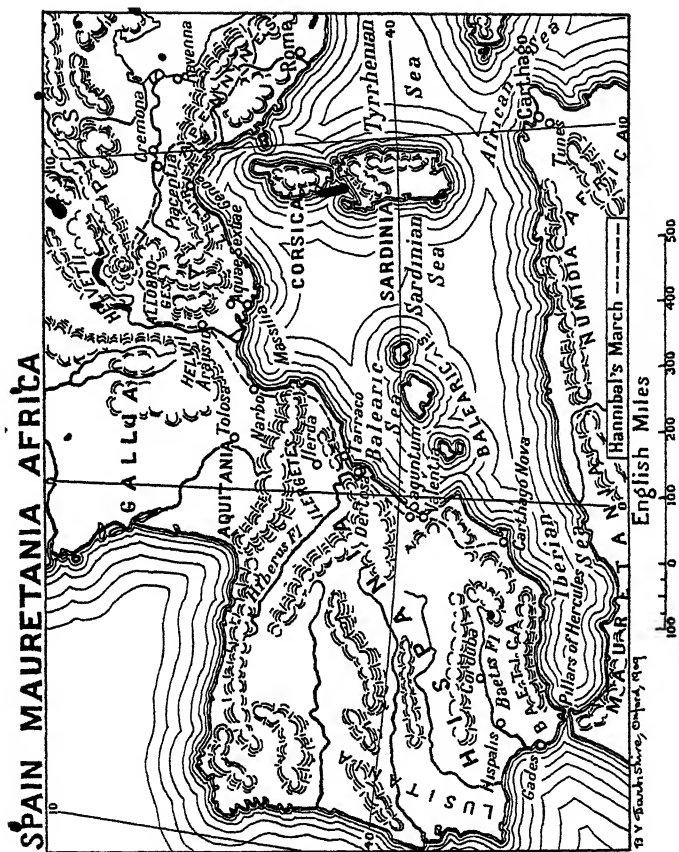


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